AALBORG UNIVERSITET

The unarticulated barrier

A study of unintentional racial- and discriminatory practice and how it can affect internationals' access to the Danish labour marked

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Abstract

I set out to investigate the barriers that well-educated or experienced people need to overcome in order to enter the Danish labour market. There are many barriers but I have found that there is something lurking as part of the barriers, something that nobody talk about, or even are aware of, but which suggests that something is not functioning properly among the majority. This unarticulated 'something' is a key element to understand the struggle of 'integration' in Denmark and it is the main focus of my thesis.

Through a qualitative study with informants amongst internationals and municipality employees, I investigate what this unarticulated 'something' is, how it is experienced and reproduced, as well as how it limits the internationals inclusion on the labour market.

On the basis of Social Practice Theory and Phenomenology I have worked with experience as my point of interest, enabling me to focus on everyday practice and experience throughout the analysis. I refrain from the idea of causality and work instead with the idea of racial experiences being real in practice.

The analysis consists of three parts. The first part is an investigation of the unarticulated 'something', where I use theoretical concepts like cultural racism, everyday racism and banal nationalism to make sense of this unarticulated 'something'. Second part is an analysis of the unarticulated 'something' among business consultants where focus is upon their experiences as professionals and as individuals, how the unarticulated 'something' can be made sense of through their practice and how they perceive the internationals. And the third part is an exploration of the influence of recognition, where I analyse the limited sense of belonging among the informants as an expression of limited recognition.

The results show that the unarticulated 'something' is composed by all those aspects that influence the racial relation between Danes and 'others', and can thereby be understood as the essence of the racial relations as they are experienced in the context of Aarhus, among people of similar characteristics, anno 2018. The racial relation is difficult to pinpoint, but it exists as part of experience for the internationals that, among others, experience it through cultural racism, everyday racism, lack of recognition and the experience of 'distance'. The

majority is meanwhile responsible for the continuous reproduction of the dominant racial relation and racial experiences, manifested through racialized and discriminatory practices, for example through structural discrimination, preferential discrimination and the lack of recognition of competences.

Even though the discrimination and racism is subtle, and often hidden out of awareness, this study shows the existence of this underlying structure of racial relations and racial experience. In order to change this, the emphasis must no longer be primarily on 'the others' and how 'they' must accustom themselves to the Danish ways, but instead on the Danish system and the Danes reproduction of the many aspects constituting the force of the racial relation.

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1. Introduction

In Denmark the entire burden of the 'integration' lies on the shoulders of those who need to 'integrate', they should adapt, they should take off their scarfs and they should become members of Denmark[1]. Integration is a "difficult-to-define" concept, but it is the most popular way to describe the relation between the 'old' Danes and the increasing numbers of immigrated citizens (Favell, 2003: 1). However the attention is not upon how the two groups of 'old' Danes and 'new' Danes can become one functional wholesome group of citizens, but instead on how the 'new' group of citizens has to adapt to the existing norms and ways of the Danish society. The concept of 'integration' is used as a political tool, where politicians seek to increase their political influence as well as their interest among voters through populist integration policies and *"by emphasizing the growing importance of top-down immigration and integration policy"* (Ibid.: 12).

Employment is being recognised as a key element to 'integration'[2] and there have been made many initiatives to persuade, help and punish people to 'integrate', both in society and onto the labour market[3]

During the time when Claus Hjort Frederiksen was employment minister for the 'Venstre' party (2003-2009) the approach to unemployed changed[4]. Through a long line of new rules, the demands of the unemployed increased, as well as the possibility for sanctions. This led to newspaper headlines like "Stop the hunt of unemployed"[5] and "Union: unemployed are being criminalised"[6] founded in the increased control and decreased trust in unemployed people.

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[1] Danish Peoples Party in the newspaper Information, <u>DF's nye kampange er ren heksejagt</u>

[2] Danish Refugee Cousle: <u>www.flygtning.dk/nyheder-og-fakta/nyhedsarkiv/dansk-flygtningehjaelp-</u>

[2] Danish Refugee Cousle: <u>www.flygtning.dk/nyheder-og-fakta/nyhedsarkiv/dansk-flygtningehjaelp-</u>
<u>enige-med-regeringen-flygtninge-skal-i-arbejde-1</u>, 19.12.18,
The Minister of Integration and KL: <u>www.kl.dk/gamle-nyheder-2/2016/januar/arbejdsmarkedet-er-</u>
<u>noeglen-til-integration/</u>, 19.12.18,
Integrationsnet: <u>www,integrationsnet.dk/kommune-og-jobcenter/beskaeftigelse</u>, 19.12.18

[3] Tightning of laws: <u>www.IU.dk</u>, kontanthjælpsloftet og 225 timers reglen <u>www.borger.dk/arbejde-</u>
<u>dagpenge-ferie/Dagpenge-kontanthjaelp-og-sygedagpenge/Kontanthjaelp/Kontanthjaelpsloftet</u>,
19.12.18

[4] Law on active employment strategy: <u>www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=29819</u>, 8.12.18

[5] Journalisten.dk, published 07.11.2007 <u>www.journalisten.dk/stop-klapjagten-pa-ledige</u>

[6] Politiken.dk published 05.05.2006, <u>www.politiken.dk/oekonomi/art4855215/Fagforbund-Ledige-</u>
<u>kriminaliseres</u>

This criminalisation, which still figures in the policy in 2018, could be part of the explanation of the high level of stress among unemployed, in 2017 47% unemployed people in Denmark were stressed, this is much higher than the 19.4% among employed (The National Board of Health, 2018[7]) According to Anne Lindhardt, head of the psychiatric foundation in Denmark, *"unemployed are thrown into a very unsecure and unpredictable situation that to a great extent affect their self-esteem. They get the feeling that they are not good at anything, and cannot be used for anything, so they lose a great deal of their identity and belief in their abilities"* (Linhardt in Politiken.dk, 20.04.18[8]). Working is not only beneficial for the individual but also for the system, which has a great economic incitement to get unemployed into work (KORA, 2015[9]). But even though there are being used immense resources on reducing unemployment, unemployment is still a problem, in particular in relation to people who are not born or raised in Denmark, but who have moved or fled to the country.

Many researchers and research centres have investigated the importance of employment as part of 'integration', many studies have been made and many reports have been written, highlighting challenges and putting forward solutions as how to include immigrants on the labour market (CEVEA, 2018; SFI, 2015; SFI, 2016[10]). However a study from VIVE shows that even though there have been made many changes to the law between 1997 and 2007, *"the central elements in the integration program stays basically unchanged doing the entire period"* (VIVE 2018[11]). This indicates that the vast amount of research has not changed much in the national approach to 'integration', which is still focused upon providing Danish language education and increasing employment through a "company directed approach" centred on internships (Business consultant informants).

These studies often use the concept 'immigrant' although they primarily are concerned with refugees or people who have come from non-Western countries. Statistically it is misleading

[7] Sundhedsstyrelsen, Danskernes sundhed, den nationale sundhedsprofil:
www.sst.dk/da/udgivelser/2018/~/media/73EADC242CDB46BD8ABF9DE895A6132C.ashx
[8] Politiken.dk, published 22.05.18, www.politiken.dk/forbrugogliv/art6390639/»Opskriften-på-at-fremkalde-en-depression«-Arbejdsløse-er-langt-mere-stressede-end-folk-med-job free translation
[9] KORA, 2015, Så meget får samfundet ud af at få ledige I job
[10] Tænketanken Cevea 2018 Fra flygtning til kollega; SFI, 2015, Indvandrere har længere til beskæftigelse trods samme uddannelse; SFI, 2016, Sprogets betydning for indvandreres sociale integration på arbejdspladsen
[11] VIVE is the fusion of SFI and KORA: nationale rammer for integrationsindsatsen for flygtninge 1997-2017

to define immigrants as people from non-Western countries, since there in the 4th quarter of 2018 were approximately 258.000 immigrants from Western countries in Denmark, and 351.000 immigrants from non-Western countries, with the top five countries of origin being Poland, Syria, Turkey, Germany and Romania (Danmarks Statistik[12]).

The categorisation of 'non-Western' people is statistical constructs[13]. I have in an earlier study argued that there is a difference between the statistical category of 'non-Western' and the cogitations connected to the concept, due to the way in which the concept is used by the government, the municipalities and the media (Lykke, 2018: 3). The conceptualisation of the word 'immigrant' seems to be facing a similar challenge, for example when the University of Copenhagen, on behalf of the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, investigates the differences in the norms and values between Danes and immigrants by only including people from Turkey, Western Balkan, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and Vietnam[14]. This can be seen as an indication of a broader tendency to combine people with many different national backgrounds into a few categories, adding certain descriptions, assumptions and prejudices to these categories as a figment of social imagination, and thereby making it difficult for people to recognise themselves in the categories (Smith, 1996).

However there seem to be a limited focus on internationals from Europe or other westernised countries. Assumably it is easy for them to fit in in Denmark. According to Peter, one of the business consultants I interviewed: *"somehow they are not supposed to need our help".* Yet during my search for informants I found that people originating from 'westernised' countries are also having difficulties entering the Danish labour market.

According to a report published by the Ministry of foreigners and integration, 6,4% of immigrants from non-Western countries are unemployed, the same counts for 3,8% of immigrants from Western countries and 2,3 % of the population with Danish origin[15]. There is

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[12] Danmarks Statistik , www.statistikbanken.dk/FOLK1C, 23.11.2018
[13] Danmarks Statistik, www.dst.dk/da/Statistik/dokumentation/statistikdokumentation/indvandrere-og-efterkommere/indhold 23.11.2018
[14] Bonnerup et.al, 2007: værdier og normer – blandt udlændinge og danskere, page 33
[15] Besides this, there is a great number of people outside the labour market, respectively 43,3%; 31,2% and 21,9% in the same order. Integrationsbarometeret.dk, Integration: status og udviking maj 2018

a higher percentage of underemployed among people, who have come to Denmark, however unemployment statistics cannot show the full picture. As we will see during this paper, the people I have interviewed have experienced long and hard struggles to enter the Danish labour market, but they have rarely been defined as unemployed. These well-educated or experienced people have taken cleaning jobs or newspaper routes in order to earn money, but they do not themselves define this as entering the labour market. *"How you make a living does not only influence your economic position in society, it also provides a social position and an identity"* (Wahlbech, 2008, 54). People might therefore seek to find jobs, which can reinforce the social position and identity they had developed before reaching Denmark.

But Denmark is not an easy country to make your own. A newcomer from England wrote in a debate article for the newspaper Politiken: *"the Danes is one of the most travelled people on the Western hemisphere, but that suddenly means nothing. Everything becomes blurry when a person with dark hair and brown eyes enters the room"*. He argues that racism in Denmark is practised in a subtle way unlike any he has encountered before (Kaan Alpaguts in Politiken[16]).

According to Philip Oreopoulos, who has studied why is skilled immigrants struggled in the labour market based on 13,000 résumés, there can be found substantial discrimination related both to the countries the experience have been gained in, but also to foreign sounding names (Oreopoulos, 2011). This discriminatory practice can also be found expressed through wages. According to the Rockwool Foundation, a 'non-Western' male immigrant with a masters degree from his country of origin gets 28 % lower salary than if he had taken the education after arriving in Denmark, and he gets 54 % lower salary than a Danish man with a masters degree (Rockwool Fonden, 2017: 3). This also means that man from a 'non-Western' country who has a masters degree only earn 12 % more than a Danish man with primary school as highest education (Rockwool Fonden, 2017: 3). This can be see as an expression of how it can be difficult to be recognised within one's field, when the education is from a very university outside of Denmark. I will return to this dilemma during the analysis.

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https://integrationsbarometer.dk/tal-og-analyser/filer-tal-og-analyser/integration-status-og-udvikling-filer/ISU2018.pdf/view page 40
[16] A Column, published 31.08.18, https://politiken.dk/debat/debatindlaeg/art6681828/»Jeg-havde-aldrig-før-oplevet-racisme-på-denne-subtile-måde.-Det-efterlod-en-mærkelig-lammet-følelse«

Framing the problem

In this study I set out to investigate the barriers that well-educated or experienced people, no matter origin, need to overcome in order to enter the Danish labour market. People have a fundamental need to participate in society, to work, and pay their dues (Honneth, 1995), and the higher level of unemployment among internationals should therefore not be explained by laziness or lack of motivation, as many rules and laws on the subject suggest, but by something else.

During my research I have found many barriers that internationals are facing, but most importantly I have found that there is something lurking as part of the barriers, something that nobody talk about, or even are aware of, but which suggests that something is not functioning properly. This unarticulated 'something' seems to be a key element to understand the internationals' struggle, and it has become the main focus of my thesis.

During my analysis I will attempt to understand and explain this phenomenon in order to answer the following question:

> What is this unarticulated 'something'? How is it expressed through the experiences of internationals and business consultants, and why does it constrain the international's access to- and inclusion on the Danish labour market and in the Danish society?

2. Methodological considerations

In this paper Social Practice will frame both the understanding of reality, the choice of method and the theoretical frame of the analysis (see chapter 3.1). Within Social Practice lies the belief that reality exists in experiences - in practice, and it construes an opposition to quantitative methods, insisting on taking departure in what is concrete. In order to make sense of social practice we must take into account its two main elements, experience and the societal discourse (Holland and Lave: 5). I will primarily focus upon the first element, the experience, since it can help me to get close to practice and people. The discursive approach to social practise can also be beneficial in an analysis, and many have already used it, but by choosing, for example a Faircloudian discourse analysis, I would reach conclusions that are general, and not focused on the individual in practise, which is the aim for this investigation.

In this chapter I will include the most essential methodological considerations regarding this study. First I will move further into experience by moving away from the idea of causality and introducing the concept of racial experience. As part of social practice, I will draw on phenomenology as my primary philosophy of science, to help me further in making sense of experience as part of everyday life. Finally I will highlight various considerations about the choice of informants and the collection- and processing of the qualitative data.

2.1 Experience and race as part of social practise

As meaning is understood through experience, I have moved away from the idea that everything can be explained through causality. According to Paul Holland we must be aware how causation is distinguished from *"mere association"*. He argues that after the last 2000 years of philosophical discussions about causality, the following is key: *"before one leaps to a causal conclusion, one needs first to consider the other noncausal explanations and eliminate them"* (Holland, 2003: 1). Holland is primarily focusing on causality and race, and he argues that *"RACE is not a causal variable and for this reason RACE effects, per se, do not have any direct causal interpretation"* (Ibid.: 3). We think of racial discrimination as being causal, as something that it is possible to change. But *"what has to change? Certainly not the color of people's skin or some other physical characteristic"* (Ibid.: 11). Instead we should see it as a social phenomenon, which is being reproduced and passed on through the social system,

affected by how people make sense of their experiences. It is a complex part of society, and must be acknowledged as such (Ibid.: 11). During the analysis I will bring in the concepts of cultural racism, everyday racism and banal nationalism. Through these concepts I seek to make sense of the internationals' experiences of discrimination, not as a causal variable, but as a social phenomenon embedded in, and reproduced by, the society and the majority. I seek to draw conclusions based on experience as put forward by my informants and made sense of through my external interpretation, and I will expand further on this method during the chapter on phenomenology.

I will introduce the concept of racial experience in order to make sense of the experiences that are influenced by – or understood through – racial relations.

The concept of Racial Experience has been put forward by anthropologists Jada Benn Torres and Gabriel A. Torres Colón. They argue that the notion of race is more than 'just' a social construct, though it, as all other cultural phenomena, can be understood as such (Torres and Colón, 2015: 306, 307). Instead they argue that we should attempt to understand racial experience through a pragmatic anthropology of racial experience, where all experiences are understood as cultural, and where *culture is a perfectly natural consequence of human evolution"* (Ibid.: 307). Torres and Torres Colón operationalizes race through racial experience as follows: *"since all experience materialises as real, embodiment occurs with every instance of sensed collective bodily distinction"* (Ibid.: 307), and the embodiment of race can be experienced through the *"complex sense of bodily Otherness, [...] embedded in daily life"* (Ibid.: 309). They have created this alternative operationalization of race, racial experience, in order to change how race is perceived in politics and in other areas working with anti-racist efforts. (Ibid.: 308). While race is understood as a social construct, this implies that it is not 'real', and it is therefore not an adequate tool to push politics towards social equality (Ibid.: 307; 310), the operationalization of racial experience has the potential to do this. As we will see in the analysis, the concept of racism has in many cases been outfaced and replaced with the word 'culture', which arguably makes it easier not to focus on it as an issue in the Danish society. In order to make sense of the extent of racial discrimination in Denmark we must therefore focus on how it is experienced.

I have drawn on this operationalization of racial experience during the process and analysis of

the data, primarily through the understanding that racial experience is embedded in everyday life and everyday experiences. At times the racial experience can be difficult to pinpoint as racism for the one who experiences it, since it can be exerted through a look, through friendly teasing, or through a continuous de-selection from the labour market, and often people do not realise that it is racial experiences. But as we will see in the analysis, it is experienced nonetheless, and it reproduces the naturalisation of difference among people and thereby the naturalisation of the racial relations.

In order to work further with experience, as well as establishing the ontological position of this paper, I will in the next subchapter introduce the phenomenological considerations of the study.

2.2 Phenomenological considerations

Phenomenology, as a philosophy of science, was developed by Edmund Husserl, a mathematician and philosopher, who explored the limits of the empirical scientific world as pre-given (Schutz, 1945: 78-79). Husserl introduced the idea of the influence of our experience and defined actions *"not as psychical activities, but as intentional experiences"* (Ibid.: 81). He envisioned phenomenology as a *"real beginning of all philosophical thinking"* preceding the traditional philosophies, belonging *"before all distinctions between realism and idealism"* (Ibid.: 79).

According to Alfred Schutz, who is acknowledged as the first social phenomenologist, people experience *"the reality of their daily lives"* through a series of common-sense constructs. These are both *"pre-selected and pre-interpreted"* and we must therefore investigate these common-sense constructs as they are expressed through people's actions and experiences, in order to understand their social reality (Schutz, 1962 in Bryman, 2012: 30). There is, of course, an important distinction between experience in the present moment, and the recollection of previous experience, but Schutz argues that part of the phenomenology is the understanding that *"evidence is not a hidden quality inherent in a specific kind of experience, but the possibility of referring derived experiences to an originary one"* (Schutz, 1945: 88)

There is no one method to build up a phenomenological investigation since this, according to Richard R. Hycner[17] *"would do great injustice to the integrity of the phenomenon"* (Hycner, 1985: 280), or as argued by Keen[18]:

> "…unlike other methodologies, phenomenology cannot be reduced to a 'cookbook' set of instructions. It is more an approach, an attitude, an investigative posture with a certain set of goals" (Keen in Hycner, 1985).

But this does not make it based on *"incontrollable intuition"* or make it anti-scientific, *"for a method it is, and one as "scientific" as any"* (Schutz: 1945: 79). A key part in using phenomenology as a research method is bracketing. This means that the researcher approaches the data without a predefined goal, in order to acknowledge the meanings that emerge during the interviews (Hycner, 1985: 280). In order to be able to find and analyse this phenomenon surfacing doing the data collection, we must not search for examples of theory proof of hypothesis (Ibid.).

> "Anybody can hear words that were spoken; to listen for the meaning as they eventually emerged from the event as a whole is to have adopted an attitude of openness to the phenomenon in its inherent meaningfulness. It is to have 'bracketed' our response to separate parts of the conversation and to have let the event emerge as a meaningful whole" Keen in Hycner, 1985: 280).

This approach has acted as the primary point of departure doing the collection of data for this thesis. I set out to investigate the barriers as they were experienced and made sense of by the internationals as part of their way onto the Danish labour market. I had chosen a theme, as well as a group of informants, and carried out my qualitative data collection, but the actual point of interest in this study did not emerge until during the conversations and the analysis of the data – the unarticulated 'something'. At this point I decided to investigate how to make sense of this phenomenon, this 'something' as part of social practice, and whether it could be used to make sense of the experience of difficulty in entering the Danish labour market and the Danish society.

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[17] Ph.D. in Psychology; The experience of wonder: a phenomenological exploration and its implications for therapy. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology-San Diego, 1976.
[18] Author of A Primer in Phenomenological Psychology from 1975

Experience can be investigated through the concepts of emic and the etic. In anthropology Marvin Harris played an important role in the operationalization of these concepts, although they were first created by linguist Kenneth Pike (Harris, 1976: 31). Emic refers to how phenomenon is structured and made sense of in the reality of the individual informant and is *"the method of finding where something makes a difference for one's informants"* (Harris; Goodenought in Harris, 1976: 31). Etic, on the other hand, is the external interpretation of the practice. The researcher's interaction with the informant is used to make sense of the *"principles of organization or structure that exist outside of the minds of the actors* (Harris, 1976: 31).

> "These principles may in fact be contrary to the principles elicitable from the actors themselves with respect to the manner in which they organize their imaginations, concepts, and thoughts in the identified domain" (Ibid.).

Harris argues that all experiences are equally real, but *"everything we experience or do is not equally effective for explaining why we experience what we experience and do what we do"* (Ibid.: 331). During the interviews I have asked questions that in some cases have lead the informants to new or different reflections about their experiences. Part of the collected data is therefore not only the informants' experiences, but also how they make sense of these. I will use these two concepts, emic and etic, to distinguish between experience as it is made sense of by the individual in practice, and as it is made sense of through the external interpretation of the researcher, since there, as seen in the quote above, not always are accordance between these. However it is essential to remain loyal to the informants and their experience of reality.

The people whose experiences I will investigate are of course of great importance, not only because of their experience, but also because they define the context in which the conclusions of this study are deemed valid. In the next subchapter I will introduce the delimitation of the group of interest as well as other considerations related to the qualitative study.

2.3 Considerations about the qualitative study

I have chosen to build up my study as a qualitative study and to gather data through qualitative interviews, drawing on the ethnographic interview. In this subchapter I will put

forward various considerations about the qualitative study, the collection and processing of data. I will introduce the frame of the preliminary analysis in order to secure a common point of departure into the analysis, and will finally go into the ethical considerations and terminological choices of this thesis. I have taken my point of departure in the guidelines for interview research put forward by Steiner Kvale and Svend Brinkmann in their book InterView (2009).

Group of interest

I have defined the group of interest and chosen the informants based on two permanent variables:

1. People who have come to Denmark as adults
2. People who had a high education, or similarly had worked there are way up to a good position in their field, in the country of origin.

In the beginning I wanted to focus on people in the statistical category of 'non-Western', but during my search for informants I found that people from 'westernised' countries where also having difficulties in entering the Danish labour market. By removing all nationality-based categories of people, I can concentrate on the social experiences and the dynamics between minority and majority.

I set out to find informants through two different ways. Firstly through a woman's network and secondly through the Facebook group of Venligboerne (Friendly Neighbours[19]). My participation and observations at the woman's group were unsuccessful, firstly because I did not manage to establish conversations with any of the participants, and secondly because nobody spoke Danish among each other, which made it difficult to participate in conversation. I did manage to exchange contact information with one woman, leading to an interview, which unfortunately turned out to be irrelevant to the analysis of this thesis. The contact to Venligboerne was very beneficial, the post on Facebook led to two interviews, and people from the friendly neighbours shared my enquiry on LinkedIn, where it was further shared, which led to four people contacting me, resulting in three interviews.

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[19] A grassroot movement that values kindness, curiousness, and respect in the meeting with others

Data collection

The qualitative interview makes it is possible to collect data, which are focused on the meaning of phenomena as the informants experience them (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2008: 44). I have structured the interviews as conversation-like, with focus on the experiences of the informants, how they make sense of them, and how it makes them feel. The ethnographic interview is developed in 1979, as a supplement to ethnographic observational research and has many similarities with a friendly conversation, although the researcher still asks questions, follows up and repeats key points, while the informants tell about their experiences and considerations (Kristensen og Krogstrup, 1999: 156-158). Even though the ethnographic interviews in this study have not been part of an ethnographic observational study, and that I have only held one interview with each informant, where several interviews are encouraged, I will argue that I have managed to gain an acceptable depth and data quality doing the research. This can be an expression of the topic, which was important for all informants and they therefore openly told their experiences. It can also be seen as an expression how I, as researcher, managed to make my informants feel safe and relaxed, for example through small talk and friendly conversation before and after the interview, by showing curiosity and interest doing the interview and by signalling informality in order to build up trust (Ibid.: 158-159). Some of the interviews were held in the informants' homes, both to make it convenient for them, but also to make it easier for them to become comfortable with me, people are often more relaxed in familiar settings. I also drew on other tools, like looking at photos, talking about cat toys, showing interest in the neighbourhood, etc. in order to increase the connection and sense of trust between us.

I have used a similar method in the interviews with the business consultants, although the interviews were limited to one hour, and were held in their offices. I introduced the interview as a conversation and the business consultants were primarily answering as professionals, though flavoured with their own experiences and opinions. These interviews were held after those with the international informants, and during the last part of each interview, I presented a list of the main findings from the first interviews, in order to hear their experiences within these themes. There was one primary limitation in regards to the business consultant interviews. Three of the business consultants primarily work with refugees, and out of all the citizens they consult, only approximately 20% belonged to my group of interest;

people who came to Denmark as well educated or with a high level of experience. Though I attempted to draw focus back on my group of interest several times during the interviews, I experienced that they did not in particular separate between educated or uneducated, experienced or inexperienced people, when they told me about tendencies and experiences in their work.

Processing data

In order to process the data gathered during the interviews, I have drawn on the phenomenological method of systematic text condensation (Malterud, 2012: 795). By condensing stories and experiences from the interviews into key words (and key sentences) and further into themes, it became possible to code the data into units of meaning (Ibid.). From the list of condensed findings, I separated these findings into themes of importance, such as belonging, hidden discrimination, luck, inclusion at the labour market, etc. During this process it became clear which themes were recurring mostly among the informants as well as which had the deepest impact on them. These preliminary analyses of what the international informants experienced as barriers to the labour market was an important step in the process to the realisation, that there was something between the lines, out of awareness, which I could not put my finger on. I combined the barriers found into two overall themes, firstly the theme of 'Unwritten Rules' where I categorised the barriers in three groups, called 'existential barriers', 'external but partly influenceable' and 'the society and the people', and secondly in the overall theme of "The Law and the System". The idea and structure of what ended up being the preliminary analysis, can be seen in Figure 1
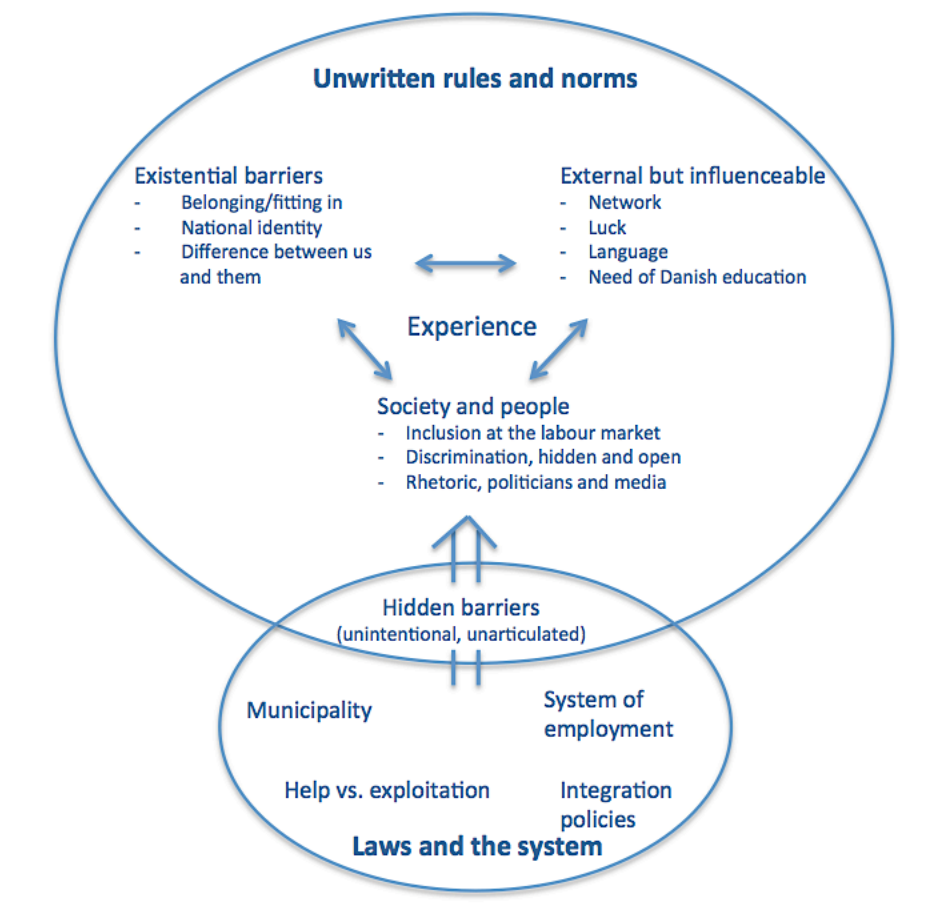
Figure 1, drawing of preliminary analyses

In this figure experience is situated as a part of the unwritten rules and norms, however experience should be understood as situated in practice, and is thereby part of everything that happens in everyday life.

I highlight this preliminary structure of the analysis due to the fact that the both the international informants as well as the business consultant informants experience many different barriers, which internationals need to handle in order to enter the labour market. I wish to acknowledge the existence of these barriers, although they are not an extensive part of my analysis. As seen in Figure 1, the preliminary analysis lead to the comprehension, that something is missing, that there is something that neither groups of informants put into words, but which, nonetheless, permeates the experienced barriers, and the discourse in which they are put forward. In the analysis, I have therefore chosen to move past the

experienced barriers, and focus on this 'unarticulated something'. This should not be understood as a neglection of the other barriers, but as an attempt to understand the phenomenon behind these.

Ethical considerations

As part of social practice the understanding of 'reality' can be found in the experiences of the individual in practice. In the phenomenological study, validity is concerned with how the etic interpretation of experience and practice can mirror the phenomenon of interest (Kristiansen and Krogstrup, 1999: 203-204). Since reality exists in practice and experiences are real, it is an academic premise to be loyal to the experiences as the informants tell them, in order to secure the validity of the study.

In order to ensure the anonymity of the informants, I have changed various aspects in their presentations. This is straightforward in relation to names, where I have chosen pseudonyms among the most popular names in the informants' country of origin, in order to secure the 'natural' sound of the names. Similarly I have changed all places of residences to other locations of similar size and distance to the centre of Aarhus. I was challenged by the occupations of the informants. Since I during the research argue that employment influence the individual's identity and wellbeing, and since the jobs of the informants are an important part of their experiences, I have chosen to change the types of job into something similar to the original occupation.

I have transcribed the interviews with focus on content rather than on linguistics. All interviews where held in Danish, except the interview Beth, which was in English, and the interview with Shaima, which was in a combination of Danish and English. The majority of quotations have therefore been freely translated into English, with focus on preserving the meaning of the quotes. The interviews have been fully transcribed on the basis of audio files in order not to lose the coherence of the interviews and ensure validity.

Terminology

There are certain terms that require explicit considerations in order to be understood as intended. Firstly the term 'internationals', whether it is primarily related to the focus on

political correctness in the Danish society, or to the different connotations connected to different terms, it can be difficult to find a good term to describe people who have come to Denmark as adults, and are now living here. I have chosen the term Internationals due to a wish to highlight the fact that they originate from other countries, where new-Danes, which I will argue is an inclusive term, also includes second generation immigrants. I have chosen not to use the term immigrants due to the connotations of 'non-Western' that arguably are connected to the term. I use the concept internationals to describe the informants who are born and raised in another country, and have come to Denmark as adults. This does not necessarily mean that they identify themselves as internationals, although I did not focus upon this, I found during the interviews that they identify themselves either as partially Danish and partially the nationality of their country of origin, or primarily the nationality of their country of origin.

Another term that I must specify is 'Danes'. When I use the term Danes I am referring to the majority Dane, or the 'old', primarily white, Dane. This is not meant as degrading to 'newer' Danes, Danes with other skin tones or non-Danish forefathers, but it is founded in an assumption that 'newer' Danes have different experiences related to for example different cultural input, different experiences of the racialization in the Danish society, or other experiences which might affect how they use – and make sense of the dominant discourse.

The term 'informant' has been widely used in qualitative research, but various researchers now question its ability to *"capture the dialogic and shared nature of anthropological research"* (Westermeyer, 2016: 134). Instead he suggests using the term "consultant", which, though not ideal, might be better. Due to the fact that several informants of this study have the job title of consultant, and have been chosen in their capacity of being business consultants, I will continue using the term 'informant', but will be aware of the possible negative connotations connected to it.

3. Introduction to the analysis

I will take my point of departure in Middle Range Theory and Social Practice Theory as a theoretical framework for the analysis. In doing so I centre both the analysis and the findings in practice, and acknowledge that they can help to make sense of practice in this context, but not as grand theory explain similar practice in all contexts. In this chapter I will first focus on Social Practice Theory, then shortly use Middle Range Theory to frame the outcome of the analysis and the generalizability, and finally present a thorough introduction to the people I have interviewed.

3.1 Theoretical framework for the analysis

Social Practice Theory

By taking departure in the Theory of Social Practice, it enables me to focus on the everyday practice and experience of each informant, as well as what these experiences mean to them individually (Holland and Lave, 2009: 2, 13). The local practice of the individual is, according to Holland and Lave, influenced by two parts, history in person, or what I will call experience, and history in institutionalised struggles (Ibid.: 3). This leads to the two primary elements of Social Practice as described in the introduction to this chapter, the experience and the discourse. As mentioned I will primarily investigate the experience of the individual, through conversations with internationals and business consultants. But I will also consider the 'institutionalised struggles' as they emerge in the experiences of the municipality employees, in the Danish political reality and through the dominant discourse.

"Local struggles are … always part of larger historical, cultural, and political-economic struggles but in particular local ways worked out in practice" (Holland and Lave, 2009: 3). The societal circumstances are continuously changing, passing into history day by day, and the historical setting is shaping the social world in the present. The choices of immigration policy in the 1980's and 1990's have greatly influenced the challenges faced in relation to 'integration' in the Danish society today, and the populist right-wing turn of the European politics today, will be part of the institutional struggle 'tomorrow'. People are both shaping the everyday world by *"make[ing] it what it is by their participation in it, while they are being shaped by the world*

of which they are part" (Ibid.: 2), and identity is thereby continuously developing as part of social practice. *"Identity is a concept that figuratively combines the intimate or personal world with the collective space of cultural forms and social relations"* (Holland, et.al, 1998: 5). It is developed through social practice, throughout a person's lifetime, influence by, among others, *"collective meanings and social relations"* and *"subject to discursive powers"* (Ibid.: 5). When a person changes country in the middle of her life, the collective meaning and the social relations change, and she becomes part of a new context. The person's position in society thereby changes, and she will have to build up her position in their new setting, attempting to gain access to the 'figured worlds' in the new social context[20]*.* But there are some contexts and practices *"we may never enter because of our social position or rank; [and] some we may deny to others"* (Holland, et.al, 1998: 41).

With social practice theory framing this thesis, I will use the everyday practice of the informants as starting point. In order to understand their realities, I will take into account both their experiences as well as the history of the society they have come to live in. I seek to investigate the concrete practice and the experiences of each international person, in order to make sense of their struggles.

Two people are never the same, and *"they cannot occupy the same place with the same point of view"* (Holland and Lave, 2009: 2), since they are influenced, not only by the social practice of their context, but also by their individual experiences. Further the historical context, institutional influence and social relations also take part in the development of the individual. In this thesis I do not aim to find structures, which can explain all social behaviour but I seek to contribute with middle range theory.

Middle Range Theory

Middle range theory is theory aiming to provide answers, not grand theory answers that can explain all social behaviour, but answers that can account for what is observed. *"Middle-range theories deal with delimited aspects of social phenomena"* (Merton, 1949: 448). It can therefore

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[20] *"Figured worlds are historical phenomena, to which we are recruited or into which we enter, which themselves develop through the works of their participants. Figured worlds, like activities, are not so much things or objects to be apprehended, as processes or traditions of apprehension which gather us up and give us form as our lives intersect them"* (Holland, et.al, 1998: 41)

not identify overall, independent variables, which can be used to understand and explain all social processes (Boudon, 1991: 519). Due to the move away from causality, and the understanding that reality exists through experience in practice, the world cannot be made sense of through grand theory, instead attention must be on theory, which can help to make sense of everyday life, and Middle Range Theory have this ability. *"A theory of middle range is a clear, precise, and simple type of theory that can be used for partially explaining a range of different phenomena, but that makes no pretence of being able to explain all social phenomena"* (Hedeström and Ylikoski, 2015: 670). It can be seen as a counterpart to "scientific theory", where the theory, if valid, can explain the specific situation in which it has been developed and 'tested'. Middle range theory is therefore not generalizable, but can be used to explain social phenomena in a particular context (Boudon, 1991: 520). Robert Merton is one of the great contributors to the definition of theories of the middle range. According to him the major task in 1949, and arguably also today *"is to develop special theories applicable to limited conceptual ranges - theories, for example, of deviant behaviour, the unanticipated consequences of purposive action, social perception, reference groups"* (Merton, 1949: 457) or for example of unarticulated barriers to the Danish labour market.

In this thesis the context is people who have come to Denmark as adults, with high educations or with great amounts of experience on the labour market who have had difficulties finding footing on the labour market of Aarhus. As part of the middle range theory, the conclusions of this thesis can primarily explain circumstances for this group of people in the setting of Aarhus and cannot be directly transferred to other groups or settings.

In the following subchapter I will introduce the people who delimits the context.

3.2 Introducing the informants/people

In this chapter I will shortly present my informants. With point of departure in the ethnographic research methods I seek to present the core characteristics of the people interviewed, as they were experienced by me during our encounters. Furthermore, I will put forward key points or elements from their interviews, in order to give the reader a sense of familiarity with the people involved in the study. First I will present an overview of the internationals (see Figure 2) and introduce them one by one. Afterwards I will shortly

introduce the business consultants. The interviews with the internationals were all approximately two hours long (except one hour with Shaima), and the interviews with the business consultants were approximately one hour long.

Figure 2, overview of international informants

Name	Country of origin	Years in Denmark	Educational- or work experience in country of origin	Education or work in Denmark	Family situation
Maan	Syria	4 years	Entrepreneur, boss	Work in a furniture company, seeks to open coffee shop	Family reunified with wife and five children from Syria
Shaima	Pakistan	4 years	Education a master in economics	Works as researcher at research centre	Family reunified. Husband and child from Pakistan
Beth	USA	10 years	17-18 years of experience working in administration	Runs her own business of writing and copywriting	Spouse from Denmark
Henryka	Poland	12 years	Master of business administration	Educated- and works as a nurse	Spouse from Denmark, one son
Jane	England	14 years	English music teacher	Educated- and works as IT-supporter	Spouse from Denmark

Maan

Maan offers to help me through my enquiry at the friendly neighbours Facebook page. We meet in Hasselager in an old building, which he has rented in order to practise roasting coffee beans and to do the preliminary work to open his own coffee shop. As this is my first interview as part of this research, and I don't know neither Maan nor his coffee roasting factory as he calls it, I approach the interview openly, seeking to let the setting define whether I am going to do ethnographic observations, participation with informal conversations or a

qualitative ethnographic inspired interview. When I get there Maan shows me his roastery, which is settled in a small industrial kitchen, and leads me to an adjacent office where he serves chocolate and well made coffee. He is a good-looking man in his fifties, dressed in a blazer and seemingly kind. I start out with informal conversation in order to make him feel comfortable with me, and move on to ask his approval for taping the conversation[21].

Maan tells me that he has been in Denmark for four years and has come as a refugee from Syria. His wife and five children have also come to Denmark and are all studying. The family is Christian. Maan is working a lot, full-time in a furniture company and almost every night after work at his coffee-roasting project. Maan presents two main points during our conversation firstly that language is the most important thing and secondly that the internships do not work.

> I think that if refugees go to language school they will find a job. Of course. I'm sure they
> will find a job, cause Syrian people, I'm talking about Syrians, am from Syria, Syrians do
> not like to receive social benefits, I know them, Syrian people always likes to work, they
> liked to be open, we are open, very open. Language is most important, it is the key to
> everything. I hope there will be five days language school for refugees, only a year or two
> years, that is good. But internships, that doesn't work.

Maan was an entrepreneur in Syria, he owned a company that built and sold houses and large buildings in six floors, but he does not think that it would be possible for him to work within his field:

> In Denmark you have to do the manual work, in Syria I was boss, I didn't do anything, I
> had a lot of people working there, I just had to make the decisions. Also it's not the same,
> in Denmark all houses are made of wood, in Syria it's concrete, just concrete.

This is an example of how the specific competences can be difficult to transfer to a new context. But even though the specific construction competences might be difficult to transfer from the Syrian context to the Danish one, the many years of experience in leadership and in running a company could be valuable for the Danish society, but is, as of now, not being used.

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[21] I did so with all the informants and all approved

We talk for two hours, and although I thoroughly protest he ends up driving me home. Doing this car ride he opens up and tells me about the war and their moving to Denmark.

Shaima

Shaima is the second person that offers me help through the Facebook group. She did not have the possibility to meet up and suggested that we held the interview on Skype. I accept her offer even though this compromises the format of my ethnographic interview, since I do not have the chance to meet her and observe her during the interview. The skype setting further limits my possibilities to ask short follow-up questions due to a slight delay in the sound. This is reinforced by the fact that Shaima seeks to give me a comprehensive view into her situation, history and experiences in a limited time, and she therefore talks very fast and with very few breaks.

I start the interview by presenting my topic, the things I would like to touchdown upon, and the format that I expect from the interview, primarily it being a conversation[22]. Shaima came to Denmark from Pakistan in 2014 as a refugee due to religious persecution. She tells me that she and her husband practice a version of Islam, which is not accepted among other Muslims in Pakistan, which is the reason for their need of asylum. Shaima has a master's degree in economics from Pakistan and has managed, through 'luck', as she defines it, and network to get a job doing research in Denmark.

Shaima does not feel that she has gotten a place in the Danish society yet, she has few Danish friends and her colleagues are mostly internationals. Based on experiences primarily from 'refugee' friends from the language school and introduction programs, she has experienced that 'the Danes' do not want families like hers in the country. Shaima has very bad experiences with the business consultants at the municipality, whom she has experienced as showing direct resistance towards her family, primarily her husband, through unfitting internships and punishment for turning down a low paying job. I have later realised that some of these experiences have happened due to certain laws, and part of the problem seems to be founded in lack of communication, which is weird since Shaima speaks English.

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[22] I did so at all the interviews

Shaima also highlights a point about refugees being used as cheap labour, and another point about the loss of resources when people cannot use the skills they have brought into the Danish context.

Beth

Beth contacts me by e-mail and tells me that a woman, who I do not know, has shared my post on LinkedIn, and she offers to help me if her situation is relevant for me. When I asks about her situation she answers the following:

> It took 4 years for me to get into the Danish labor market as anything other than a cleaning person, with a Danish education and 17+ years of general experience.

This strikes me as extremely interesting. Why did it take an American woman with 17 years of experience in the administrative field, four years to get a job in Denmark? Beth and three other women contacts me within a few days after my post has been shared on LinkedIn, all women from westernised countries and all with good educations or experience. This leads to my delimitation of my group of interest (See chapter 2.3)

I meet Beth at Espresso House in the centre of Aarhus, it was her suggestion since she often uses the café for work and was going to spend the day there anyways. I get there first and recognise her through the window from her LinkedIn photo when she comes semi-running into the café five minutes late. Her personality appears to match the entrance, she seems happy and bubbly and as she repeats several times during the interview: *"I just bump along in my little rose-coloured bubble"*. She has brown skin and curly black hair and has coloured the tips of her hair green. I buy us coffee and she drinks sugar-free vanilla latte.

Beth tells me that she has been working her way up from when she was 17 years old:

> So receptionist, secretary, assistant, personal assistant to the CEO etc., so [I] kind of worked my way up, and I had all that experience, plus I was studying as well, but I had no degree

She speaks English and does not question it. She even argues that when her family members try to push her to learn more Danish faster, she loses her motivation.

> Having people in my own family saying: 'well you need to speak Danish', yeah but that's not gonna help me do it, because now I don't want to, you know, and that's my reaction as well and I recognize that, but I would definitely be like: 'yeah if this is how you are going to behave, this is how I am going to react'

Beth is throughout the interview focusing on the idea of 'fitting in' and acknowledges that companies often want someone similar to what they know, but she is confused about why she and other people from westernised countries are understood as being 'different'.

Henryka

Henryka e-mails me because her neighbour has told her that I was looking for people who would share the experience of entering the Danish labour market with me. She wrote:

> I have lived in Denmark for 12 years, I am originally from Poland ☺ I have a Master's degree from Poland in economics but could not get the job and seven years ago I chose to take a new education in Denmark.

I visit her in her home in Ry. She has forgotten about our meeting and I offer to come back another day but she lets me in and heats up water for tea. Her house is a newly built modern house with large windows and high ceilings. It is completely clean and tidy even though she did not expect guests. Henryka is a blonde woman in her late thirties. Her four-year-old son is home, but he is shy and does not want to say hi even though I attempt to chat with him.

Although Henryka has a master degree in economy she spent the first three years in Denmark cleaning and according to her that is not the way to become a part of the Danish society:

> Many times when I hear those programmes about integration they often say stuff about cleaning jobs, and then I think: 'yeah I've been there, that doesn't do much for the integration, for getting better integrated, you just stand alone in an office at 6-8 pm at night and clean, you don't talk to any Danish people, you don't hear any cultural things, you are not a part of anything, there is no colleagues.

Henryka has during her time in Denmark attempted to discover what is important in order to be included in the workforce and the society. After not being able to get a job related to her field for a while she assumed it was because of her lack of Danish, so she started with Danish

lessons, later when this did not work she assumed that it was due to her education being foreign, so she took a Danish education. She continuously attempted to upgrade her own abilities to the 'Danish standards', but the process has been filled with defeats and Henryka is very explicit about how it affected her psychologically.

Jane

Jane wrote to me and offered her help, as she had seen the post shared on LinkedIn. She came from a good job as high school teacher in England to Denmark, where it would take her nine years to find a 'proper job'.

I visit Jane in her house in Trige. She greets me from the garage where she has been smoking, finishes up and leads me into the kitchen, where she heats up water for tea. I shortly greet her wife and I am introduced to her cat. We sit down in the sofa in the living room, a living room filled up with cat toys, and I get the sense that this cat is their baby, which Jane later confirms.

Jane speaks Danish with a hint of British accent, and she, as Beth, used to believe that it would be easy for a native English speaker to get a job in Denmark. However it was not easy for her. Jane tells me how she had a lot of trouble getting her social security number, and that she was trapped in a loop – no social security number → no job, no job → no social security number. She managed to get the social security number shortly before she would have had to leave Denmark, due to a newspaper route and helpful employees at Jyllandsposten. Besides getting to stay in Denmark, this also meant that she again could get the anti-depression medicine that she needed, which she could not get without a social security number. She worked in a warehouse for many years before she took a new education as IT supporter.

She highlights primarily two things as the main barriers, the language and the rules and laws of the system.

> It was a little difficult to get included, firstly because I was a temp and secondly because they did not want to speak English with me, so I did not feel included.

I will return to all the internationals during the analysis. In the next part I will introduce the business consultants.

The business consultants

In order to get interviews with employees in the employment department of the municipality, I wrote an e-mail to the leader of the integration team at the employment department and he answered with four names and contact information of employees that might be relevant for my research. I contacted all four and after writing back and forth I managed to book meetings with all four of them, all in one day. In the following I will give a brief account of my meetings with Peter, Masami, Caroline and Martin.

My interview with **Peter** is the first of the day at the municipality in Aarhus. I meet him in his office and he greeted me with a *"you are certainly punctual"*, since I arrived a couple of minutes before nine where our meeting was to be held. Peter is tall and with short blond hair. He is wearing jeans and a green shirt and seems kind. He is sitting in an office with two other people, and therefore leads me to 'the square', a space with tables and chairs in the heart of the labyrinth of offices. We sit down, he offers me coffee and gets it for me, the coffee is served in the kind of white plastic cups that kids drink juice out of at picnics, this is the common way of the office. Peter is somewhere between 35-45 years old and has been working as a business consultant for 2,5 years.

My meeting with **Masami** starts with a double booking of the conference room that we were supposed to be in, we let the other people have the room and go to her office. Masami is a young woman, 25-35 years old with a Middle Eastern appearance. She is elegantly and comfortably dressed. We enter her office, small talk a little, and settle down at her desk. She speaks Danish with a tiny accent, which indicates that she was not born in Denmark but came as quite young. During the interview she mentions that she is a refugee herself. She has been working as a business consultant for 3 years.

Caroline is a woman in her late thirties-start forties. I meet her outside her office and she shows me in. She offers me coffee, but tells me at the same time that she has bought juice for the occasion. It is a smoothie like juice with forest berries from one of the more expensive brands. I use the occasion to give her the chocolate that I have bought for all the business consultants as a thank you for their time. At first she says, somewhat as a joke, that she cannot accept gifts, but we agree that since I am not one of the citizens she works with, she is allowed

to accept it. Caroline is employed in the integration team, but works with well educated European internationals, who have come either through family reunification to a Danish spouse, as spouse to a working migrant or as a regular migrant.

Martin was my last interview of the day. I meet him in his office, a tall man with dark hair and beard, somewhere between 30-40 years old. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans and seems friendly. He has booked a conference room for our meeting, but it turned out to be an office. Luckily it was empty and there was a small round table at which we could sit. Martin has only been working one year as a business consultant, before that he studied to become a social worker, and before that he had 10 years of experience with warehouse- and logistics work.

Out of the four people, three of them are primarily working with refugees and immigrants from non-Western countries, while one, Caroline, is working with European migrants. There is a difference in how personal the business consultants choose to be during the interviews, where some primarily share their professional experiences, others also includes personal experiences. However they all seem to have a similar perception of the citizens they work with. I will return to this in chapter 5.

3.3 The structure of the analysis

I will here shortly present the structure of the analysis in order to facilitate the reading experience. There are three analytical chapters in this paper. I open up the analysis in **chapter 4. An investigation of the unarticulated 'something'**, where focus primarily is on the experiences of the informants. I use theoretical concepts like cultural racism, everyday racism and banal nationalism, to make sense of this unarticulated 'something' I have found while processing the data. In **chapter 5. The unarticulated 'something' among business consultants** I focus primarily on the business consultants and their experiences with integrating immigrants on the Danish labour market, and the barriers they meet. However, I also focus upon how the consultants are talking about immigrants and how they perceive them. Finally, during my interviews I have found a lack of sense of belonging among the informants, in **chapter 6. The influence of recognition**, I will therefore analyse their experiences through Axel Honneth's Theory of Recognition, in order to make sense of this as a barrier both to the labour market and to the Danish society.

4. An investigation of the unarticulated 'something'

The most recurring reason for unemployment among my informants is, according to themselves, simply that they were not hired even though they applied for jobs they were qualified for:

> Beth: I had a stack of CVs that was easily that high (indicating 30 cm above the table), if not higher, and it was tiring and it was depressing and it was like, there would be a few time, I would make it through the interview, get really positive feedback, which was again a thing, I would get positive feedback and still not get the job

> Henryka: I started working in cleaning because I needed a bit of money to pay for the apartment and all that, but with the hope that I could find something else fast. But I couldn't. I sent applications and wrote to different companies, but they never responded ... so I didn't even manage to get to a real job interview with my education, my real education.

> Jane: I went in and applied for jobs many places, I'm just walked around and asked, and because I could not speak Danish and I could not understand Danish at all, it was a problem, a huge problem, it was just 'no way' at that point ... so I applied for cleaning jobs, but that was not possible either ... they said that because a couldn't understand Danish, it would be too dangerous, because I didn't understand they're writing and the bottles and so on. So I was like: okay so I cannot get a cleaning job either.

During my research I have found that we can look at the concrete barriers as language, expectations and unwritten rules in the work place as much as we want, (and this have been done for many years) without being able to grasp that 'something' which is unarticulated and unacknowledged, and therefore without being able to solve the problem.

In this chapter I will analyse the experiences of the internationals. I will draw on different theoretical concepts like cultural racism and banal nationalism in order to grasp this unarticulated 'something', to understand how it is experienced and made sense of, and how it is affecting the internationals. I will take into account the Danish self-understanding of being

tolerant and inclusive, in order to analyse the naturalisation of the racial relation and the everyday racism, and will finally focus upon the political attitude towards immigrants and how this influence my informants.

Karen Wren has argued that Denmark since the 1980s have turned into what is possible *"one of the most racist countries in Europe"* (Wren, 2001: 141). The word racism is rarely used in Denmark, but the practise of racism exists nonetheless (Blaut in Wren, 2001: 142). The cultural racism, in opposition to biological racism, is founded on the idea that the 'superiority' of the Europeans has been historically established. Therefore, due to the predecessors' innovative development of Europe, Europeans can *"be defined as 'modern' and 'progressive', in contrast to non-Europeans as 'traditional' and 'backwards'"* (Wren, 2001: 143). Europeans are, in the theory of cultural racism, therefore not seen as racially superior, but instead as culturally superior. *"The universal claims of Western knowledge, the domination of Western norms for progress, and the globalization of Western standards for cultural and human development"* is still thoroughly embedded in society (Essed, 2002: 2). This is relevant in relation to how people who have migrated to Denmark are treated, since it is not their race but their knowledge and abilities that are questioned. For example, when the business consultants express that they (the migrants) do not know how to behave in the Danish culture, and are having difficulties understanding it when it is explained to them (Martin; Peter; Masami).

"What has made cultural racism in Denmark so damaging is its subtle and almost invisible character" (Wren 2001: 146). Many Danes are still talking into the idea of a Danish society with "*modern liberal and progressive social values*" like tolerance, equality and social cohesion, the idea of a country who 'helps' others by promoting humanitarian causes in the rest of the world (Ibid.: 146-147). Denmark is still working towards equality among for example genders (e.g. equal pay) and sexualities (e.g. equal rights), but arguably this is less the case in relation to immigrants. The immigration laws are being tightened[23], the prime minister states that it morally is the right thing to do to send well integrated refugee families 'home'[24], young girls

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[23] Ministry of Immigration and Integration, http://uim.dk/gennemforte-stramninger-pa-udlaendingeomradet
[24] Lars Lykke Rasmussen an speech to his party, 17.11.18, https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/lokke-vil-sende-integrerede-flygtninge-hjem-det-er-det-moralsk-rigtige), seen 20.11.18

are being ostracized from Denmark while their mothers can stay[25] and the Danish Peoples Party are making advertisements with slogans like: "Take of your scarf and become a member of Denmark"[26].

However, the majority of (white) Danes are neither using the concept of racism, nor generally acknowledging that racialization and discrimination exists in Denmark. Arguably the mechanisms are there, but instead of using the word race, the political 'right' use the word culture (Gullestad, 2002: 59). The word racism is arguably difficult; there are so many associations to white supremacy and the repression of other races, so it is easier to pretend to imagine that it does not exist. It can be illustrative to understand neo-racism as the flipside to neo-nationalism. Neo-nationalism produces in-groups and out-groups, the in-group is built *"by including people who looked like each other and who share the idea that they possess a common cultural foundation"* (Hervik, 2015: 40 – free translation). The quotation from the Danish People's party's add above plays on neo-nationalism, highlighting that some people choose not to be part of the in-group, arguably in an attempt to stress an incompatibility between the in-groups and the out-groups (Hervik, 2012: 213).

However, the construction of 'out-groups' and the existence of racial discrimination in society have not yet been acknowledged as an actual societal problem, neither by the majority of the population nor by the politicians. As long as it is not understood and put forward as a problem, the politicians can avoid concerning themselves with it, because an unarticulated problem does not necessarily need to be solved. By actively choosing a tactic of unawareness towards the extend of cultural racism, and actively playing into the common understanding that social inequalities exists due to the cultural difference between 'us' and 'the others', the "*discussion about racism and discrimination can be avoided and marginalized*" (Wren, 2001: 159). This however does not make it disappear. Because *"every society has its 'truth', and predominant discourses are recognized as such, but 'truth' and power cannot be separated, as*

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[25] Politiken.dk, 27.10.18, https://politiken.dk/debat/debatindlaeg/art6798384/Vi-vil-blive-husket-som-generationen-der-udviste-børn-ødelagde-familier-og-frygtede-de-fremmede
Dr.dk, 23.03.2014 https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/danmark-kan-have-udvist-boern-i-strid-med-konvention
[26] Information.dk, 21.09.2018, https://www.information.dk/debat/2018/09/dfs-nye-kampagne-ren-heksejagt

facts acquire their concrete meaning from the language in which they are spoken, and are formed as justiécation for the exercise of power." (Wren, 2001:146)

Due to "*extremely clever marketing of xenophobic viewpoints from a relatively small, but very active group of people*" (Ibid.: 158), cultural racism and hidden discrimination has become a natural part of the dominant discourse – and thereby of the society's 'truth', a part so natural, that it is barely even noticed (Ibid.: 158).

> Jane: When I was working at Orla Christensen, packaging, it was a little difficult to be included, firstly because I was a sub, secondly because they did not want to speak English with me, so I didn't feel included … It wasn't that they were mean to me or anything like that, it was fine, but sometimes you could get the feeling that people talked behind your back while you were there, you know during the time while you didn't speak Danish, maybe people are talking about you, but you cannot understand it. Then you get a bit paranoid

> Henryka: Generally I'll say that I think I've been lucky, very lucky, the people I've met at work have always been very lovely, very sweet, very understanding, inclusive. But I have always been teased, and you just have to accept that, and I also tell them that is fine, … sometimes you wish that it wasn't so much, and get a bit tired of it once in a while, but it is – I know you cannot express yourself as well as in your own language

> Henryka But it is difficult. Some days are easier, some days it is easier to handle: okay, I know they are looking down, or, I know that they are thinking something because I'm from Poland, or give me that look, or: what is she saying? … Some days I can easily be like: yes yes of cause, and other days where I'm thinking daaaaamn why does it have to be so tough

These experiences show the internationals' experience of discrimination, even though they do not themselves acknowledge it as discrimination, they feel they have been lucky and that you just have to accept the rest as a natural thing. This indicates that there is something else, beside cultural racism, hidden in their experiences. This other hidden 'something' can be brought into awareness through the concept of banal nationalism.

Nationalism has often been limited to consider the processes of creating nation-states, or the processes, which *"threatens the stability of existing states"* (Billig, 1995: 7). Yet it seems to have been removed from the process of state building in the West. *"Instead, it is projected to others, to bloodthirsty Balkan leaders or African tribesmen turned nationalists. Western state building was reimagined as a non-national, civil, republican and liberal experience"* (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002: 307). By only acknowledging nationalism as something that exists in 'far-away places', it becomes natural not to consider it as an important social scientific concept (Billig, 1995: 7) in the investigation of everyday life. Yet nationality is everywhere and it comes in different forms.

Nationalism is primarily seen and understood as what Michael Billing calls 'hot' nationalism, which is the outspoken nationalism, assumingly expressed 'far-away', but there is also 'banal' nationalism, which is a less distinctive form of nationalism, which *"becomes something surplus to everyday life"* (Billig, 1995: 7). When nationalism becomes 'banal' it becomes a part of our *"social habit of thought"*, in the same way as earlier argued that cultural racism does, and is therefore not articulated as nationalism. 'We' forget 'our' nationalism and are therefore rarely seeing 'clear' examples of nationalism as such (Ibid.: 11-12). In Denmark for example it is natural to decorate your house, your cake and your garden with Danish flags in celebration of birthdays – the flag is naturalized as a part of a birthday celebration, not thought of as a national symbol, *"'our' particular world is experienced as <u>the</u> world"* (Ibid.: 12). This is an example of banal nationalism. Another example is the idea that Danish educations are better than educations from anywhere else in the world, just because they are Danish, as thoroughly expressed in my data (see chapter 5.2). Banal nationalism can be compared to a sleeping phone, it is silent and unused, but when it is called, it wakes up, and makes it possible to get in touch with the owner of the phone in ways that would have been impossible without the phone. *"The very possibility of hot nationalism – Billig argued – relies in the silent, unreflexive, daily working of banal nationalism"* (Hearn et.al, 2018: 602)

Arguably banal nationalism and cultural racism are expressing two sides of a similar story. Where the cultural racism is focused on 'the others' and how 'they' are different than 'us', the banal nationalism is an unarticulated reproduction of 'Danishness', of how 'Denmark should be'. In 2001, the Danish People's party introduced the idea of cultures being incompatible, this

was primarily incompatibility between the Danish and the Muslim 'culture' (Hervik, 2012: 213), but has arguably created a ripple effect onto other cultures. Within this lies the understanding that people and their cultures are not 'wrong', but they are in the 'wrong place', these different cultures do not fit the Danish context, and will therefore *"inevitably generate conflict and xenophobic reactions"* (Hervik, 2012: 214).

Even the British culture can at times be understood as incompatible as seen in the previous quotes from Jane (page 37). The fact that her workplaces permanent staff chose not to speak English can signal that they believe she is in their 'wrong place'. It can further be seen as an expression of banal nationalism; 'when you are in Denmark you have to speak Danish'. I asked Jane who decided that they did not want to speak English with her:

> Jane: It was themselves, it was themselves, they just did not want to speak English with me, so there always had to be one of the other subs to translate for me ... I did not get to talk to them unless it was through someone else

The permanent staff's choice can also be seen as an expression of everyday racism, since *"a prevalent form of everyday racism is contact avoidance"* (Essed, 2002: 4). By not attempting to communicate at the workplace, this arguably creates an on-going practice of structural discrimination at this workplace. This overall and indirect form for discrimination lies implicitly in norms, rules and behavioural expectations (Thorsen, 2014: 173). As part of the institutional and lingual practices, it affects the dominant discourse and the approach to 'others'. *"Structural discrimination always exists in a asymmetrical power relation, and can be a results of informal institutions and practices, habits, traditions and norms"* (Thorsen, 2014: 173-174). I will return to the concept of structural discrimination in the analysis, chapter 5.4: The perception of the international citizens among the business consultants.

Like 'Danish in Denmark' there is also an idea of 'Danish jobs for Danes', which can also be seen as an expression of banal nationalism. This idea can lead to a negative discourse towards people who have come to Denmark to work.

> Henryka: There is always the focus on, well polish craftsmen steals jobs from bla bla bla and you think: okay, but they pay taxes, it works really well, and you

> could not build thousands of houses if they weren't here, and you lack workers, and you can find thousands positive points to make, but you always highlight something that is a little negative … that is always a little discrimi– (stops the word half way through, and changes it to) negative

Henryka experience this negative discourse towards polish craftsmen, but hesitates when she is about to define it as discrimination. This indicates that the concept of discrimination, as that of racism and nationalism, is a sensitive topic, something that exists but that preferable is not mentioned. This might also be exaggerated in the interview setting, where she is talking to a Dane she does not know and therefore maybe treads carefully.

These discourses are, in or out of awareness, creating distance and insecurity among the Danish people, related at those who have come to Denmark with other cultural backgrounds. Certain politicians and media are framing immigrants as a threat and in doing so they are arguably producing and reproducing a language of risk. When those in power imply that there is a threat, this will lead people to start fearing immigrants (Bar-Tal, 2005: 5). A part of this fear can be expressed through mistrust and intolerance towards the out-groups (Ibid.). This intolerance is expressed both through the politics and politicians, the media and the 'people', directed at migrants during everyday life:

> Shaima: [At] one of my […? Friends house] they always try to say hi to their [Danish] neighbours and they never reply. And sometimes, when their kids are outside, they [the neighbours] take out their dog so the kids become scared. So these things show that we are not part of it, and we lose our confidence. Because we think it's their country, it's their right, and we are not allowed to play outside.

This is the experience of Shaima and her friend and it can both be an example of miscommunication, where the dog is 'just' let into the garden to get air and not to scare the children, but it can also be, as made sense of by Shaima, and expression of xenophobia. The attitude towards, maybe in particular, Muslims have changed, xenophobia has become more generally accepted, and more outspoken for certain groups in society (Hervik, 2012: 220). This is also recognized among the European informants:

Jane: Generally I have felt, that Denmark compared to England is more openly racist, not that England is less racist, but I think that England is hiding it more, where I experience England as more openly homophobic than it is racist, and here in Denmark I experience that you are more open about homosexuality, but from the older generation you hear those racist remarks that you do not hear in England, or that is my experience anyways. So in this way it could have been difficult if I had a different appearance, if I had dark skin or something like that, then it could be different, the way I've been received

Henryka: Sometimes I think that it's easier for me, since I have an appearance which does not suggest: hey are you from Iran or a you from .. You cannot easily tell with me, and they are kind of more forthcoming with me, because you think I'm from Denmark. So it's almost opposite, when I start to talk then: hmm, [people get] kind of a question mark in their face: okay you are not Danish

Arguably, most of the xenophobia and fear is aimed at people who originate from countries that differ notably in culture and religion from Denmark, often described by the statistical category of "non-Western" countries. Yet I have found that people from "westernised" countries, such as European countries and USA, are also experiencing the unarticulated barriers related to cultural racism and banal nationalism. This phenomenon made me wonder at first, because if the anti-immigrant discourse primarily is concerned with 'non-Western' people, and even more specific Muslims, then why is it affecting the majority's approach towards people from 'westernized' countries? Arguably it seems that the idea of incompatibility between native Danes and 'non-Western newcomers' (Hervik 2012) is more dominant than the idea of compatibility between native Danes and 'Western newcomers', and that this has created one primer category of "foreigners".

The majority group needs to be strong. It needs a scapegoat to blame and to define them apart from in order to strengthen the group identity. Constructing a discursive demonization of "non-Western" people or "Muslims" can enhance the 'inner' groups fight against a common enemy, thereby strengthen the identity and the unity of the inner group. David Smith has been working with the concept 'the figment of social imagination' in relation to anti-Semitism

(Smith, 1996), but the concept can also be used as a tool to understand the demonization of foreigners or immigrants, which can be seen as part of the dominating anti-immigrant discourse. In the centre of the social imagination is the 'chimera':

> "The ancient use of [the term] chimera to refer to a fabulous monster emphasizes the central characteristic of the phenomenon. ... In contrast to [routine bias], chimeric assertions present fantasies, figments of the imagination, monsters which, although dressed syntactically in the clothes of real humans, have never been seen and are projections of mental processes unconnected with the real people of the outgroup. Chimeric assertions have no "kernel of truth" "(Langmuir in Smith, 1996: 211)

That certain groups of people are imagined as monsters is a social construction without mantel in the truth, yet it can help explaining why the unarticulated barriers also affect people from 'westernised' countries. Arguably, such a construction of social imagination must be strong, if it is to provide a common enemy and the chimera is therefore not limited to certain 'types' of immigrants, but to all. This can also explain why my international informants do not identify with the picture created of immigrant in the media and by the politicians, which shows a demonization of people and is out of proportions with the people is it 'supposed to' describe. I wish to acknowledge the powerful influence of the news media, both in strengthening nationalism (Wren, 2001: 156) and in the construction and reproduction of the demonizing discourse, although this will not be thoroughly investigated.

However, even though there is a form of demonization of immigrants founded in the discourse, Maan, who has come to Denmark as a refugee 4 years ago, experience Danes as very nice and helpful:

> Maan: Danish people want to help refugees. I can say that all Danes want to help with many things, they like -, if I walk on the streets in Aarhus people smile at me. That is important. If I look at them they smile, that means a lot

Maan is arguably experiencing the host-guest mentality, which can be found in part of the popular consciousness (Hervik, 2012: 219-220). The host mentality is the idea that 'we' must make 'them' feel welcome at 'our' place'. It is, of course, very nice for Maan that many people want to help him, and it is founded in the best intentions among those who help, but the host-

guest relation can seriously influence the distribution of power between the host and the guest (Gullestad, 2002: 54). It is the host's right *"to control the resources of the home, [and] to decide on the rules of the visit"* (Ibid.). Meanwhile the guest must show that she is grateful by following the rules of the host, by reducing the visible differences to a minimum and by adopting the 'basic values' of the host (Ibid.; Hervik, 2012: 219-220). If the guests are not showing their gratitude they can be perceived as *"'bad', incompliant, abusive, provocative and careless guests, [who] would upset the host to such an extent that eventually the host would become racist"* (Hervik, 2012: 219-20). Arguably, Maan is working hard to 'fit in' and be a good 'guest'. Although he is coming from Syria, he and his family are Christians and they are thereby avoiding some of the most 'obvious' differences, as for example the scarf or the abstinence to eating pork. He is therefore experiencing the positive side of being a guest; help, freedom and material benefits (Gullestad, 2002:54) in exchange of gratitude and compliance. But it still results in an unequal distribution of power.

In the following subchapter I seek to direct further attention to the experiences of power and rights by focusing on the political attitude towards immigrants, how it is experiences and how it influences people.

4.1 The political attitude towards immigrants and its influence on people

Denmark has been exceptionally fertile for cultural racism, neo nationalism and populism, which have been increasing since the 1980s (Hervik, 2014: 21; Wren, 2001: 141). In order to understand the societal distance towards immigrants we must acknowledge the Danish, as well as the European political reality, where populism has gotten a strong hold (Ibid.). Populism is originally the division between "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" (Mudde, 2007: 23), but now exists alongside neo-nationalism in a stance against the dangerous cultural 'others' (Hervik, 2012: 214). Peter Hervik argues that when *"'the people' is seen as standing for the cultural homogeneity of the Danish nation and foreigners are represented as a threat to the nation, we are closer to a far-Right populism than to populism"* (Ibid.). Populism, like everyday racism, needs to build the strength and cohesion of the group through the externalization of others, and immigrants can, through nationalistic arguments, be

constructed as an enemy of 'the people' (Ibid.), a common enemy of "our Denmark"[27]. The othering can be further justified through the stance that we first and foremost need to help "our own" hard working families (Standing, 2012: 599), and therefore should prioritise this and not 'the others'. According to Wren: *"this externalization and 'othering' process is part of this new racist discourse, which serves the dominant structures of* **power** *by justifying exclusion and glossing over issues of social and economic inequality by cloaking discussion of these issues in 'cultural difference'"* (Wren, 2001: 144).

This 'othering' is an explicit part of the government's stance towards immigrants. The Minister of Immigration and Integration Inger Støjberg celebrates the tightening of laws regarding immigrants with cake and through a large and bright 'count up' box at the Ministry's webpage, which has now reached 98 tightnings[28]. The Danish People's Party are thorough in their populist and anti-immigrant communication[29] and the social democrats in the opposition has arguably since 2015 been using a populist rhetoric in this field[30]. When certain politicians use the populist rhetoric of what 'the Danes' want, it can increase and reinforce these opinions in the population argues Christian F. Rostbøll, professor at Copenhagen University: *"when Mette Frediksen says, that the Danes want a rigorous immigrant policy, then she is taking part in the expansion of this position, because those who disagree start thinking 'well maybe it's just me'"* (Rostbøll in the newspaper Information, 26. Juni 2018[31]).

This is not only reproduced through the rhetoric, but also through the law. This can be seen both in those laws, which have gained a lot of media attention in 2018, as the so called "burka law"[32] (Ministry of Justice) and the necessity of a handshake in order to get Danish citizenship

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[27] Danish Peoples Party, poster, 2016, https://danskfolkeparti.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/266x365-DF-Vores-DK-juni-2016-1.pdf
[28] Ministry of Immigration and Integration, FrontPage, http://uim.dk
Inger Støjberg's Facebook Page https://www.facebook.com/IngerStojberg/photos/i-dag-fik-jeg-vedtaget-stramning-nummer-50-på-udlændingeområdet-det-skal-fejress/1397458950293818/
[29] Danish Peoples Party https://danskfolkeparti.dk/politik/maerkesager/udlaendingepolitik/),
[30] Information, 26. Juni 2018, https://www.information.dk/indland/2018/06/goer-noedvendigvis-socialdemokraterne-populister-foelger-folkestemningen
[31] https://www.information.dk/indland/2018/06/goer-noedvendigvis-socialdemokraterne-populister-foelger-folkestemningen
[32] The cover-up prohibition, or tildækninsforbud
https://www.ft.dk/ripdf/samling/20171/lovforslag/l219/20171_l219_som_vedtaget.pdf

(Ministry of Immigrants and Integration[33]), but also in a less discussed tightening of laws as, for example, narrowing the rules for those who want to be family reunified with a Danish spouse[34] or tightening the requirements for those who seek Danish citizenship, so that if you get a speeding ticket, you get 4,5 years of quarantine from officially becoming a Danish citizen, even if you have completed the application process and are waiting for the reply[35].

> Henryka   I just thought of an example, where I felt completely rejected and not accepted by the Danish society. It is because, three years ago I decided to have both Polish citizenship and Danish citizenship … and then I applied for it, and it takes 2 years. During this time I drive too fast, and get a speeding ticked and a cut (in the drivers license). When the two years almost has passed, I get a letter from the department of foreign affairs, and I think - , I almost kiss the letter … but then I got the message that I'm a criminal, and that my application for Danish citizenship has been rejected, and that I have a 5 year long quarantine, and I'm thinking: this is a lie, it cannot be true. I call and says 'there must have been a mistake, I have received this letter' and they say: 'no its not a mistake', well? And then they tell me that because I've driven too fast, and I got a speeding ticket and a cut, it is regarded as a criminal act, and therefore I cannot get Danish citizenship: 'but listen, I have behaved exemplary, you cannot just – I have a Danish husband, I have a Danish child, I am integrated, what are you talking about? Everybody can drive too fast, you cannot punish me like that!', 'yes' [they can they said], so now I cannot get the Danish citizenship, because I've driven too fast once, and I feel very discriminated against, I feel very, very discriminated against.

In Denmark all are equal to the law, or at least that is the intention in the constitution of the state[36]. It has though been debated in recent years due to the construction of laws, which

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[33] Law number L80, 2018-19 https://www.ft.dk/samling/20181/lovforslag/l80/index.htm
[34] Nyidanmark.dk https://www.nyidanmark.dk/da/Nyheder/2018/06/Nye-regler-for-aegtefaellesammenfoering
[35] Ministry of Immigration and Integration http://uim.dk/arbejdsomrader/statsborgerskab/udenlandske-statsborgere/betingelser/kriminalitet
[36] The Constitutional Act of the Kingdom of Denmark
 1849: https://www.ft.dk/da/folkestyret/grundloven-og-folkestyret/grundloven-med-forklaringer

seem to make life harder for certain minority groups in society[37]. The example, where Henryka cannot get Danish citizenship due to a speeding ticket is an example of exactly this. We are all equal to the law, but if you do not have Danish citizenship the consequence of speeding is blown out of proportions compared to the consequence for someone with Danish citizenship. This shows that recognition in the law is not enough. If the individual is not a part of the nation through a citizenship, then it somehow becomes legitimate to behave as if the person is not part of the state.

Due to the Nordic welfare model, the state is expected to provide not only welfare but also equality to all citizens. The challenge is therefore not explicitly about the acceptance of equal right, but instead *"the acceptance of cultural diversity and group-specific rights"* (Wahlbeck, 2016: 575). This system, where immigration policies are made by the state, can leave *"the minorities wholly dependent on the goodwill of the state and its majority"* (Ibid.)

This, along with all the other changes in laws, is affecting the feeling of security and safety among my informants. Since the laws keep being changed, they are never sure of their place in the Danish society:

<blockquote>

Jane   I would like to have citizenship so that I can feel -, partly because I would like to feel like a Dane, but also because I would like to feel safe here. There is also the fear that something happens and I get thrown out, also now with England leaving the EU, I don't know what the consequences will be for me, and I don't think, knock on wood, that there will be large consequences, but you never know, and with Danish politics, where it changes all the time and they tighten it all the time, it could be of importance for me that I'm not from the EU, It could be of importance. I would like to have some security; I would like to be able to vote and to feel like a part of it. ... to be honest, I wouldn't feel at ease having a child here when I do not have citizenship, because you hear those stories where people are thrown out and stuff like that, not so often European families,

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Jyske Lov ""loven skal ikke gøres eller skrives til nogen mands særlige fordel, men efter alle deres tarv, som bor i landet" http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/jyske-lovs-fortale-1241/

[37] www.dr.dk, 27.02.18, https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/loekke-foeler-ghettoforslag-er-blevet-misforstaaet-alle-er-fortsat-lige-loven

but you hear stories about families who get torn apart due to some tiny issue, and I wouldn't feel safe to do it. If I get the citizenship, when – I have to say when I get it, cause I've been waiting for so long, then I'll be too old anyways.

I will argue, that there is a lack of respect and recognition in the relation between state and citizen. Sune Lægaard, Ph.D. at Roskilde University, has been investigating whether it is possible to describe states as tolerant and respectful, based on the same theoretical foundation as used in the standard analysis of these concepts (Lægaard, 2013: 1073). According to him, institutional respect can be understood as a combination of the decision procedures and outcome in form of laws and the publicly expressed meaning and reasoning behind these (Ibid.: 1075). Lægaard argues: "*respect is something the state publicly displays, so others can see that it is respectful*" (Lægaard, 2013: 1073). Can disrespect have the same (though opposite) ability? I will argue that the Danish state, influenced by the populist and anti-immigrant tendency of society, is publicly displaying disrespect through the aforementioned tightening of laws, as well as through the anti-immigrant rhetoric being used by various Danish politicians. This disrespect arguably have two outcomes, firstly that the part of the Danish population who shares the anti-immigrant perspective, can see that the government is not respectful to minorities, thereby increasing the parties chances of getting votes from this group of the population (which arguably can be seen as part of the reason behind social democratic policy change towards immigrants), and secondly to make a strong indication that Denmark is not a good country for immigrants, and that migrants and/or refugees should not 'choose' Denmark. This indication has thoroughly been expressed when the government put an ad in a Lebanese newspaper in 2015, focusing on the difficulties one would meet in Denmark[38]. Arguably, the less respect the state or the government show minorities, the more difficult it will be to gain that respect among the people. In chapter 6 I will go further into how the lack of respect and recognition are affecting people who have come to Denmark, and their access to the labour market.

This cultural racism, banal nationalism and almost 'natural' distance, fear and doubtful

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[38] Politiken.dk, 08.11.15, https://politiken.dk/udland/fokus_int/Flygtningestroem/art5588354/Støjbergs-flygtninge-annoncer-trækker-overskrifter-internationalt

attitude towards people who have come to Denmark with different backgrounds act as a barrier for them to become part of the Danish labour market, as well as the Danish society. This barrier is often as hidden as the everyday racism and is expressed as an often-unintentional doubt towards immigrants. I will argue that this unarticulated something is a part of all other barriers explored in this thesis, and can be seen as the foundation of the difficulties people meet when they have come to Denmark.

Sub conclusion of chapter 4

In this chapter I have found that cultural racism and hidden discrimination is a naturalised part of the dominant discourse in the Danish society. The discrimination is expressed so subtly that, even though it can be felt, it can be difficult to acknowledge it as discrimination. There is something there, but it is difficult to define, since it contains the sum of many different unacknowledged things, it is not 'just' cultural racism or banal nationalism, but is related to both, and can primarily be made sense of as part of experience.

I have found that even though the demonization of immigrants primarily is concerned with refugees and people originating from non-Western countries, the idea of incompatibility with this group is more dominant than the idea of compatibility with people from 'westernised' countries. As a result, all people who are not born in Denmark are included in the 'out-group', they are ascribed the same demonized characteristic and are used as scapegoats to blame when things are difficult, as a method of strengthening the common social identity of the 'in-group'. This is rarely acknowledged, but lies as an unarticulated 'something' in the Danish people, influenced by the dominant discourse.

In the next chapter I will attempt to find and understand how this is experienced or expressed by the business consultants.

5. The unarticulated 'something' among business consultants

In this chapter I will focus upon the business consultants from the municipality of Aarhus. I have had several reasons for including the business consultants as part of my research. Firstly I will argue that I gain a more comprehensive picture of the unarticulated 'something' by investigating it not only from the stance of those being influenced by it, but also those who might reproduce it. It also provides different points of views, since the business consultants can be seen both as professionals but also as Danish people[39], which can supplement the experiences of the internationals. Further as professionals they are working everyday with getting internationals onto the labour market, and how they experience and make sense of the barriers to the labour market can supplement the barriers put forward by the internationals. Finally I also seek to make sense of the language, discourse and perception they have and reproduce about internationals, and how the unarticulated 'something' is part of it.

There are, of course, barriers that are there, simply because you have moved to a new country. The business consultants highlight for example different rules in different fields; safety regulations, health regulations, economic rules like taxes and tax deductions among others, which one needs to know and get accustomed to. The Danish society has many rules, and the consultants encounter many people who are challenged by this. People who were skilled painters or electricians before they came to Denmark, but who do not have the education that is necessary in Denmark, or the knowledge about how to get accustomed to the rules in the field. Another barrier is the lack of knowledge about the system, how to gain the knowledge you lack, where to ask for this – you need to know there is a system that can help with getting a job, in order to be able to use it. Further language is mentioned by the consultants as one of the primary barriers in getting a job. There is generally a large focus on language among all informants, and in the literature. When talking about language the attention is always on the internationals, 'they' have to learn! But there are different aspects of the discussion of language. Of course it can be difficult to be a secretary in a Danish company if you cannot write Danish, so there are certain linguistic limitations. But there are also other factors. A study show that employees speaking native Danish are not good at

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[39] Masami has come to Denmark as a refugee when she was young, but her discourse as a professional correlates with the professional discourse of the other business consultants.

adjusting their fast Danish to the level of people learning[40], and finally companies can also use language as an excuse for not hiring non-native-Danes, in relation to its function as a 'common-sense' barrier.

There are many barriers put forward by the business consultants, almost to the extent where they can be seen as excuses. But what I seek to understand in this chapter is how the business consultants out of their awareness are reproducing this unarticulated something found in the previous chapter, and whether this constitutes a barrier in their work as internationals' link to the job market.

I find it important to acknowledge the positive intention behind the business consultants' choice of work. At all four interviews I had the thorough impression that they sought to help the citizens based on the belief that a job is the key to the Danish society. In understanding that the motivation of these four business consultants is to help the citizens, the points of this chapter becomes even more interesting, since the doubts and suspicions towards immigrants stems from people with good intentions. Thereby underlining the need for understanding the unintended distance towards internationals.

5.1 Naturalisations and everyday racism

Danes are socially closed, this is 'common knowledge', though some take upon them the role of the helping host. When looking at websites for expatriates[41] or the The Expat Study from 2010, there is a general understanding that it is difficult to get in under the skin of the Danes, and that Danes can be cold, reserved and even rude[42]. According to business consultant Caroline, this is just how Danes are, and it should not be seen as an expression of distance towards foreigners:

Caroline   That is not how we do, we don't do much for others in that way. We can live next to the same neighbours many years without contacting them. So if

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[40] SFI TEMA 02:2016: Sprogets betydning for indvandreres sociale integration på arbejdspladsen (december 2016)

[41] Article from Aarhus Univeristys expatriate network, 11.10.2013, http://omnibus.au.dk/arkiv/vis/artikel/hvorfor-er-danskere-saa-maerkelige/;

[42] The expat study 2010, The Ministry of Higer Education and Science https://ufm.dk/en/publications/2010/files-2010/the-expat-study-2010.pdf

> you come as new [to Denmark], I understand that some see it as uncomfortable, that people dissociate and act cold, people are not interested, and you lack the knowledge to understand that this is just how it is. When I get home, and walk into my building, that is my private sphere, and I don't wanna be disturbed in it. And it's not that people don't want to as such, it is everybody, it is a general thing, it really isn't them, it's just how it is. And that's how I'm thinking. I do understand that you [who are new to Denmark] are afflicted by it.

By arguing that 'this is just how Danes are' Caroline is using banal nationalism to naturalise the distance between majority of 'Danes' and the minority who have moved to Denmark from elsewhere. When Caroline is drawing on a common understanding of 'Danes', it become difficult to question the premise, because it is put forward as an intuitive part of the common (everyday) world (Essed, 1991: 24). But again, there is something there, which is somehow concealed by 'the expected'. Caroline is trying to legitimise that she, as well as everybody else, avoids having contact with immigrants or internationals. She continues to do so in the following, where she describes how she does not want to have contact with her international neighbours.

> Caroline: I live in the same building as internationals, actually just across the hall, and we have been living there a couple of years, and I'm actually not really interested in that we have to talk a lot, my husband is luckily good at it, but I'm like 'ahh no, I don't want to mix everything together, there is also something that is my work, and it would probably lead to – [that they want her professional help], and the I have to refer them to someone else, and it's – that's how I am, I actually think I'm very Danish that way, I don't have the energy for it when I'm off work.

When she first told me this and highlighted that it is just how Danes are, and not because Danes do not like immigrants, it did not seem strange to me at all, it sounded natural, of course, we all know Danes are difficult. My reaction can be seen as an example of how successful the naturalisation of 'distance' is, and how embedded it is, also my way of thinking. Although I am attempting to look past the naturalisations during this study, there are limits to what I can see and acknowledge as part of this unarticulated 'something', this must be

considered a limitation of this analysis. Back to Caroline and the point of Danes being 'difficult', there are always at least two sides to a story, and the point that many Danes live in their own private bubble, without talking much to their neighbours has its truths, yet arguably so does many other people of other nationalities. But it creates a dilemma, because when is it true that 'Danes' are closed or cold towards people outside their social circle, and when is it just an excuse not to include people? The idea of avoiding contact is a considerable part of everyday racism (Essed, 2002: 4) and I will use the concept of everyday racism, as put forward by Philomena Essed, professor in Critical Race, Gender and Leadership Studies, to help me make sense of the naturalisations that appear in the business consultant interviews.

Everyday racism is the *"interweaving of racism in the fabric of the social system"* (Essed, 1991: 18). It is a concept, which can increase our vocabulary in the investigation of the unarticulated 'something' as a barrier to employment as well as to social compatibility, inclusion and equality.

> "Everyday racism is the integration of racism into everyday situations through practices (cognitive and behavioral ...) that activate underlying power relations. This process must be seen as a continuum through which the integration of racism into everyday practices becomes part of the expected, of the unquestionable, and of what is seen as normal by the dominant group" (Essed, 1991: 26).

Everyday racism is never just a single act, but *"a multidimensional experience"*, where an experience is combined with memories of other similar experiences (Essed, 2002: 5). As they say, little strokes fell great oaks, and what might start as something 'barely noticeable' becomes weaved into everyday practice. As in cultural racism, everyday racism can manifest itself as a "*taken-for-granted feeling that one's own group comes first, [as well as through] the idea that people of a different racial and ethnic background are less competent, less civilized, a cultural threat, or less intelligent*" (Ibid.: 4). It should be noted that it is a limitation of this study to use the concept of everyday racism as understood by Philomena Essed without discussing the relation to gender and class. As she argues: *"the system of segregation operate[s] through convergence of race, class, and gender factors"* (Essed, 1991: 16).

The naturalisation of this unequal power relation is constantly put forward in the interviews

with the business consultants, though it, at my conviction, is out of their awareness. The everyday racism is particularly clear in relation to the business consultants' comments on the international citizens' abilities to understand. It is for example expressed through phrasings like:

Peter: But it is difficult to understand, we have a completely different system than they are used to.

Caroline: You [the international] lack the knowledge to understand, that that is just how it is.

Martin: It is like starting from scratch, it's like explaining an 8-year-old how the society works.

Masami If I get tired of my job and want to find something else, I do it outside of work, I don't take time off from work to walk around and find jobs … They feel that we try to counteract them in relation to the job application process, and it is difficult for them to understand that you can do both [work and apply for other jobs].

This manner of talking about the international citizens' capacities to understand, or lack of the same, is reinforcing the notion of 'them' being less intelligent. The everyday racism is reproducing the unequal power relations between the dominating majority and the dominated "others", thereby empowering the members of the majority (Essed, 1991: 20). This constructs a problem for those who seek to be inclusive, because it is difficult both to be inclusive and not to have immigrants in our local sphere.

Martin: It also applies to people like you and me, who somehow have been inclusive and said 'we can help you, but can't you just move out there [to Gellerup], I don't really want to see you daily you know', I think many people think like this, we can be inclusive and help, but we don't want to invite them in for coffee, cause we don't understand what they are saying, and they smell differently, smell like spices, and wear a scarf and are different than the rest of us. But we all have a responsibility for the problems at hand

Another idea, which assumingly unintended is taking part in everyday racism, is the idea that questioning the visible differences of people is 'just' an expression of curiosity. This idea is not only naturalising, but also legitimising the 'pointing out' of differences. Arguably this can be understood as the majority host questioning the adjustment of the guest (see chapter 4). However the immigrant is expected to understand that there are no negative intentions behind it, and must accept to 'defend' herself.

> Masami: The thing is that, well, people have to receive you, but you also have to open up yourself, and if you don't know the language, and cultural differences etc. - And many, if they have asked curious questions, here we say that we are curious because we are interested in you, why are you wearing a scarf, and that dress, and so on. Maybe because of the cultural difference – [they can think] 'okay, are they disparaging me?'

But what about the descendants to people who came to Denmark in the 1980s? Is curiosity still a valid excuse regarding second and third generation non-white immigrants? Or is it the skin colour that highlights the racial relation?

The idea of being curious is underlining the Danish self-understanding of being positive, including and not racist. Within this self-understanding there is often no intention to say racist things, yet racialization and discriminative practice can be found anywhere, and that it might have been unintentional does not change the consequence. Intention does not count (Thorsen, 2014: 173). By investigating how people experience what is said and done "out-of-awareness", it becomes possible to make sense of the unintended consequences of these actions.

In the next chapter I seek to investigate the role of competences and the reasons why competences are understood as almost inconvertible by the business consultants.

5.2 The inconvertibility of competences

This discussion about competences, qualifications and experience is arguably a key element in understanding why it is difficult to get a job if you are not born, raised and educated in Denmark. As seen previously, there is an underlying belief in cultural racism, everyday racism

and banal nationalism that 'others' are less intelligent than 'us' or 'their' ways are not as good as 'the Danish way'. This is continuously reproduced by the employment system, because resources are not just resources. No matter what competences, qualifications and experiences you have, you have to start from zero on the Danish labour market. This is the general point of departure in the work of the business consultants, and it is non-negotiable. Meanwhile, it is surrounded by the unarticulated 'something', which seems to be completely out of awareness, and part of this is the <u>why</u>. Why do people have to start from zero? Why do competences and qualifications count different in Denmark?

The understanding of people having to start from the bottom is clearly expressed by the business consultants:

> Peter: Given that many of them are well-educated and understand the rules of the society and the labour market and all that, they do understand that even though they have a good education and have had a good job in their homeland, they have to start somewhere else on the Danish labour market"

> Masami: When [the well-educated] came to the country, their goal was this high [indicates high], cause they don't -, it is not easy to accept that now they have to start from zero again, also because they keep comparing themselves with others, where they say: 'I'm also well-educated, I was also up there', so the goal becomes -, they sets the goal up there [indicates high], but you have to -, we know, but now you have to start all over from here [indicates low]

> Martin He was very well dressed ... he had this emanation of someone who was used to having a good job. And somehow he became more and more decomposed ... He comes here, and he can't use it [his resources] for shit, cause he has to start from zero"

In order to 'make it easier to understand', Masami drew the following figure when she had to explain it to people, see Figure 3.
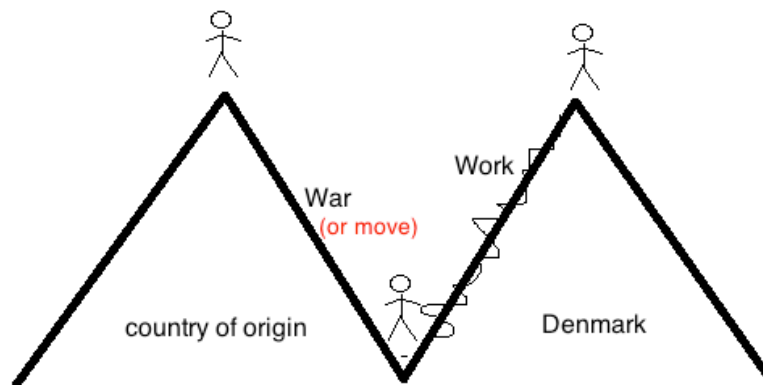
Figure 3, Masami, red writing is added

The premise is simple and clear: in Denmark you have to start from zero and work your way up (Peter; Masami). But the 'why' of this premise is not acknowledged. I will argue, that this idea of having to start from the bottom again is founded in a lack of trust in competences forged in other countries (cultural racism, banal nationalism). This becomes clear when the Ministry of Higher Education and Science assess all foreign educations lower than what they originally are:

> Caroline: It depends on whether you are "third world citizen" or European, but counting for all of them is, that if I send their papers to assessment (at the ministry), they will be told that it corresponds to a bachelor plus one year … But its all about the perception of the country from which people come, do you believe that if you have a business administration (master) from India, that it corresponds to a business administration (master) in Denmark? Can it really be believed that their systems match, that they can work in the same tempo, approach the assignment in the same way, have the same frame of reference, and the same systems and all that. That is a barrier" (Caroline)

Caroline is talking into the idea, which is arguably so thoroughly implemented that it can be difficult to acknowledge, namely that other universities are not as good as Danish ones, she is thereby backing up the Ministry of Higher Education and Sciences idea that foreign master

degrees do not correspond with Danish master degrees (Caroline; Masami). There is, of course, a difference between the way universities functions around the world, or as Shaima expresses it: "*the teaching methods [in Denmark] are entirely different from Pakistan",* but why does that implicitly make it worse?

Starting from zero can be very difficult and several of the international informants have had difficult considerations about what to do with their lives (Henryka; Jane; Beth). I would argue that after having spent many years studying, we all hope to be able to put the competences we have gained to use. The business consultants acknowledge that it is difficult not to be able to use ones competences, but Peter justifies the method by saying that it primarily is difficult for Arabs:

> Peter: I do understand that it is something they have to process, that it is a tough one to swallow as we say in Danish, and it can be difficult for some, especially in the Arabic culture, where titles are important … therefore it can be very condescending for them to take a warehouse job or to work in a shop or something, because it conflicts with their culture

Firstly this is a racialization of Arabs, and secondly it is an attempt to let pride and 'Arabic culture' be the reasons for why well-educated people are unhappy with warehouse jobs. One could ask why pride in ones abilities and ones achievements can be seen as something negative, and the answer might be found in the ten commandments of the law of Jante, which are arguably embedded in the Danish norms[43], evolving around the idea that 'you cannot think you are better than us'.

Henryka, although she has come from Poland and not an Arabic country, expresses actual fear for being forced into a cleaning job:

> Henryka   I was really scared when I didn't know if I was gonna get a job … and then what? Will I be sent into some system where somebody looks at me, and I was so terrible scared that they would say: 'you can clean, you have cleaned', and then sent me back into a cleaning job, I was almost in tears: 'that is not gonna happen to me'.

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[43] Janteloven from the book by Aksel Sandemose "En flygtning krydser sit spor" 1933

The lack of acknowledgement of the competences people bring with them to Denmark can, according to Honneth's theory of recognition, influence, among others, the self-esteem of the individual (Honneth, 1995: 121). People need to be recognised for their competences and abilities, this is part of ones identity and level of self-esteem. I will return to the importance of recognition in chapter 6.

However, this approach to resources, where competences are approached as almost inconvertible to the Danish setting, can be seen as yet another example of the incompatible 'other' – where their experiences and abilities are fine, but not necessarily compatible with the Danish 'ways'.

In the following subchapter I will move into the international informants experience from the first page of the analysis, the barrier of not getting hired.

5.3 Companies and the difficulties in getting hired

It seems to be very difficult to get a foot in the door on the Danish labour market; both business consultants and international informants name this as one of the main barriers. Ideally I would have interviewed both companies who do, and who do not hire international workers, but due to limited resources during the data collection, I have not interviewed the companies. However, by focusing on the business consultants' experiences and presentation of companies, I get to touch down upon important themes like preferential discrimination and imagined scarcity of jobs, which will be the focus of this subchapter.

Since companies often hire employees through recruiting processes and these processes, more often than not, are run by people, I choose to assume that the companies are afflicted by the same unarticulated 'something' that I have found in the previous chapters, thereby implicating a distance towards internationals. Doing my research I have found that both the business consultants' expectations of companies and the international informants' experiences of companies indicate the tendency that companies will choose a Dane over a migrant while hiring.

> Peter: We all experience it, it is difficult to find a job, but obviously it is even
>
> harder [for migrants], obviously, you and I would do it too as business

leader: 'I have someone here who speaks Danish and have a Danish education, and I have one here from a foreign country' then you would often make the 'safe' choice … I believe, at least that's what I hear.

Masami: An employer is a businessman who will choose the best of the best, so if he can hire someone-, we have two people who can do exactly the same, they are equally good, there is just one who is fluent in Danish, so then it's not necessary to use as many resources, so of course he would hire him, instead of the other one who is lacking a bit of Danish. And then it might feel like: 'ah okay it was because he was Danish', but it's like, what is it to be Danish? And I think that what underlines it is: to speak Danish.

Caroline: And many [companies] do not dare to take the chance, and it is also expensive, recruiting processes are expensive, so it's understandable that they don't dare to take the chance with someone, you don't really know who are. But then again, you can say that you never really know what you get until you've started, and that counts for all new [employees].

These quotes are all expressing the banal nationalism. Not only are they attempting to justify the choice of Danes, but they also define Danes as the best choice, the safe choice. Some of the worries that people can have when hiring internationals are arguably illogic, as for example when Caroline in the quote above realise, that while you do not know what you get in an international worker, you do not know what you get in a Danish worker either. Except that people assume the Dane knows the unwritten rules imbuing the society and the work place, and that the international do not.

The idea of Danes being the 'safe' choice can be seen as an example of what Marianne Gullestad calls imagined sameness. Companies assumes that problems might arise if the staff does not 'fit together', if somebody is perceived 'too different'. In order to obtain the imagined sameness, and thereby assumingly avoiding the conflicts, as well as preserving the basic value of 'peace and quiet', companies can choose to use the method of avoidance (Gullestad, 2002: 47). *"In this way differences are concealed by avoiding those people who, for one reason or another, are perceived as 'too different', and by playing them down in social interaction with those who are regarded as compatible"* (Ibid.). This search for the imagined sameness results

in further differentiations between 'us' and 'them' (Gullestad, 2002: 47), and, arguably, influences the choice of candidates in the processes of hiring employees. This argument points towards discrimination in the hiring process, or what can be defined as preferential or "taste-based" discrimination. Preferential discrimination is when companies do not hire internationals, and the reason for this is not due to their productivity, but due to ethic prejudice (Hedegaard and Tyran, 2011: 7, 38)

The preferential discrimination is experienced by my international informants and is expressed through frustrations of not getting job interview or not getting the jobs even after a successful interview. But I will argue, that there is something more to it, than employers not hiring people because they *"may dislike minority people for reasons that are unrelated to their productivity"* (Hedegaard and Tyran, 2011: 7). I will argue that it, once again is influenced by this unarticulated belief that Danish employees are a little better than others.

When talking about companies, several of the business consultants highlight that a business is a business, and that we need to be aware that the 'ideal' of a diverse workforce might not be as important as getting the fastest, easiest value for the money. Meanwhile there is a conflict between the idea that there is a lack of workers in Denmark and the idea that there are not enough jobs for the internationals to get them. Is it a difficult dilemma where Denmark both lacks people for the workforce[44] and lacks available jobs? Or can it be construed as an imagined scarcity, founded in cultural racism and banal nationalism? The contradicting information can be frustrating, when your job is to find jobs for people:

> Martin: We hear in the societal debate how the companies lack workers, but there are workers available, but maybe the problem is that they [the companies] do not have the resources and time to train the workers, and apparently they don't want to have to use three months to train an employee, they only want people from the top shelf, you know those who can just step in and be of value, you know make a surplus from day one. And I think that it might be unrealistic, so the question is whether it is the employers who are too greedy, or whether it is because they charge too little for their assignments – meaning that it is us, the consumers who are greedy,

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[44] Danmarks Statistik https://www.dst.dk/da/Statistik/bagtal/2018/2018-03-28-mangel-paa-arbejdskraft-i-flere-sektorer

because it has to be cheep when we book a craftsman ... somewhere there is something that goes wrong, I think, as to why our labour market is so excluding, or at least not including, you really have to be well prepared to cope with it

Martin is here searching for reasons why it is so difficult for internationals to find jobs. He is considering the companies' resources, their pickiness in choice of workers, the consumers' greediness, and he acknowledges that the labour market is excluding. All this is seemingly in an attempt to understand, as well as justify, why his job is difficult. Though it does not occur to him that the employment system and the perception of internationals between him and his colleagues can be part of the reason.

In this subchapter we have seen that it is not only the attitude towards internationals, which is important, but also to a great extend the understanding of Danes, that, influenced by imagined sameness and nationalist apprehensions, are seen not only as the safe choice but also as 'naturally' being the best choice. This emphasis on how 'Danes' are better, and how businesses are businesses, can again be understood as a justification of not hiring internationals.

In the next subchapter I will consider the business consultants perception of internationals as it is expressed through our conversations.

5.4 The perception of international citizens among the business consultants

How people are perceived has an influence upon how their actions are understood. Therefore, how the business consultants see and pass on their perception of the internationals can affect how potential employers see them, and as employed in the municipality as a political organ, it can also affect how internationals are seen by the system. In the work of the business consultants, the internationals are 'naturally' depicted as the out-group of citizens in contrast to the in-group of consultants or municipality employees. Yet underneath this lies an unintentional structural discrimination, founded on the asymmetrical power relation between consultant and citizen and reproduced through language and perception, as well as practices and norms (Thorsen, 2014: 173-174).

"Structural discrimination is embedded in institutional and linguistic practices and in the discourse of otherness, which forms and influences the individuals behaviour and expressions" (Thorsen, 2014: 173).

So when the general tone among business consultants is hard when talking about internationals (Martin), and it for example is commonly expressed that the internationals are having difficulties with understanding different things (Peter; Masami; Martin), it is an example of structural discrimination. Arguably when new employees are hired as business consultants they take on the practices, norms and language of the existing employees, thereby reproducing the same discriminatory practices.

One of the main purposes of the business consultants is to persuade companies to hire internationals. Their manner of 'selling' the unemployed internationals can arguably affect the way they are perceived by the company that will employ them.

Caroline: I know what they can do, but there is just limits to how much can be explained in a CV and an application, so sometimes you have to attempt to persuade them: 'try to take in a 'dark horse' for once, just try, try'

The expression of 'dark horse' is used in context, where it is meant as a reassurance of the competences of the international. But Caroline is talking into the underlying assumption that the companies do not want internationals since they are not as good workers as Danes, and she uses this to argue that the company in this case would be positively surprised. She is hereby reproducing a structural discriminatory discourse that looks down on internationals as employees.

What we expect of people, influences our interpretations of actions and statements, and thereby how people are perceived. Peter told a story about a man, it was told as a funny story, and it made me laugh (at first). This man had been the leader of a company in Syria before he came to Denmark, now he was starting an internship in an entrepreneur company in Aarhus. When the boss had shown him what to do, the Syrian man had said:

Peter: 'You boss, I also boss, I also boss' in Syria right. 'Yes that's right, but now I am the boss' and that was a little difficult for him, he thought they were

> both boss, but of course they weren't, he just found it difficult to let go of
> the role of being boss

There are many things at play in this experience. Peter uses it as an example of how it can be difficult to let go of ones pride, how it was difficult for this man to understand that he was no longer a boss. This understanding indicates the naturalization of the idea that immigrants are less intelligent than Danes, that even though he has been leading a company, it is difficult for him to understand this. There are many other ways to interpret this experience, and I will put forward two other possible interpretations. Firstly he could be joking, trying to lighten the mood by drawing on something he had in common with the new boss. Humour is very delicate and can be understood differently depending on expectations and frame of reference, in this case, because Peter was expecting this man to find it difficult to be an intern, he is likely to interpret the situation based on this frame of reference, thereby seeing pride as the reason behind the statement. The second possible interpretation is, that this man want to signal that it is an experienced guy they have hired. As seen earlier, the business consultants work from a stance where people have to 'forget' who they were professionally before coming to Denmark, or at least have to set it aside in order to get as fast as possible into an ordinary job, no matter what job, and first afterwards they can then seek to work their way back up the ladder.

During my interview with Martin, he includes me in his considerations of how he perceives immigrants, not as a professional but personally. During this conversation he moves from defining himself as inclusive, to questioning both scarfs and the reluctance to eat pork, and ends up a little closer to the part of his perception of immigrants that is unintentional and out of his awareness. This is an example of how the manner in which an informant make sense of experiences can change due to the reflections set in motion by the questions during an interview (chapter 2.2). Martin realises a different perception of how he experiences, in particular, Muslims.

> Martin: I'm just thinking about myself, because we have quite a few with other
> ethnic background in this office, how is it that I think about them? Hmm,
> nah I don't think that I, no actually I think that I am quite including, but
> once in a while something creeps in anyways, … sometimes I can think:
> 'hmm well don't pretend that you know better, I'm born and raised here'. I

> think that … 'you are like me' … but then, if I see a picture of their spouse wearing a scarf, then I can feel, then I get a little 'coloured' anyways, … on one side people are free to choose to wear a scarf, … but I can also feel that something happens with me when I see someone in a scarf, I can't – I am kind of thinking: what is it that you want to express with that scarf? There is something there, there is some kind of mishmash in my thoughts about it.

When something happens to Martin when he sees a colleague's spouse wearing a scarf, it is an example of the unintended but yet thoroughly embedded understanding of racial relations and incompatibility, as they exist in his mind. This can, again unintentionally, unfold as everyday racism. It also shows the conflict between Martin's ideological approach to multiculturalism, where inclusion is important and people should do what is best for them, and this unarticulated racialized difference, which makes the 'Danish' way the right way.

Even though he states that his colleague seems to be 'just like him', he is focusing a lot upon what sets him apart.

> Martin: I can see that he is avoiding the pork, and he has a wife who wears a scarf, and the thing with pork, why is it that you do not eat pork? What is it that's wrong with pork? There is no logical explanation for not eating pork, it is something cultural in it, and that's probably what is a little difficult for me to understand, that an otherwise well educated man and reflective man or colleague, who questions many things, and who fights against dictatorships, Erdogan, and all this, but still chooses not to eat pork because its written in a book, that you should not eat it? I don't really understand it. And you can say that's something about tolerance and the understanding of differences, you know somehow it's their choice, it is their choice, and I don't know if it's the discourse of societal debate, which has started to infect me, or what the hell happens … Cause it is a free choice to eat pork, it isn't that, it is more like why?

It seems as if Martin has not realised that these differences bothers him. He starts out by establishing the classical Danish self-understanding of positive inclusion, and ends up concluding that: "there are differences, there are!" And that these differences: "have a huge

impact on how we accept other people" (Martin). He has hereby taken himself on the journey from complete unawareness to expressing the embedded racial relations and showing examples of cultural racism through the unwillingness to understand or accept his Muslim colleagues choices not to eat pork. He is using logic as an argument, in an attempt to legitimise his frustration with the different cultural code; *"there is no logic explanation".* There is an expression of two of neo-nationalism's key elements in Martins reflections. First the self-celebration or superiority of 'Danish' norms and values, primarily in relation to the status of pork and the freedom of the woman's hair, and secondly the frustrations when these norms and values are not adapted leading to the unacknowledged understanding of incompatibility.

Out of awareness

In order to round of this chapter on the experience and perspectives of the business consultants, I will put forward a quote from my interview with Peter, which I will argue highlights the essence of the problem as well as the extend to which the problem is out of awareness.

> Peter   This thing with society and inclusion, I don't think it's a problem, a big problem. … I do not experience that many feels discriminated, not feel included. On the contrary they feel -, I experience many saying that here there is no difference whether you speak one or the other language or have one or the other skin colour, you get treated equally, and I think we are good at this at the Danish work places and in the Danish society, to make room for everybody, no matter the differences.

The findings of this analysis contradict Peter's experience and indicate that Peter in- or out of awareness has chosen to close his eyes. The quote presents not only a naturalisation of the state of things, but is also legitimising and justifying it by expressing that there is no problem. He is expressing the Danish self-understanding of Danes being inclusive, and avoids taking into consideration the anti-immigrant discourse that dominates the media and politics. The problem is that even though he seems as a good man, who wants to help people, this approach undoubtedly affects his manner of working with international citizens. A colour-blind

approach makes it possible to deny the problem, but it does not help to solve it, and can be understood as a form of racism itself[45].

Sub conclusion of chapter 5

During this chapter it has become clear how important it is also to look 'inside', at the majority group, when working with racial relations and inclusion of minorities in Denmark. I have found that the business consultants are naturalising the 'distance' between Danes and internationals and legitimise the distance by arguing that Danes in general are closed and 'difficult'. The consultants are talking about internationals as lacking the capacity to understand different things, and reinforce the idea of 'the others' being less intelligent than 'us'. Meanwhile the internationals must recognise and accept that the questioning of visible differences, like skin colour or scarfs, is an expression of curiosity. This is expressing a racialized and discriminative practice that is unacknowledged by the business consultants.

The employment system is structured so that people professionally have to start from the bottom when coming to Denmark, since other universities, methods and people are not acknowledged as being on level with the Danish. This understanding is founded in a combination of cultural racism (the others are less intelligent) and banal nationalism (we are naturally best). Well-educated and experienced people have to 'forget' their resources, competences and experience and vast amounts of recourses are therefore going to waste. Only one of my informants are actually using the professional skills she brought to Denmark in her current job, the others have re-educated themselves or chosen other paths after not being able to get jobs with their existing skills. The Danish companies and labour market is thereby not recognising people for their skills.

The business consultants are working with the assumption that companies do not want to hire internationals, at least not as much as they want to hire Danes, there is therefore a tendency to reproduce the structural discriminatory discourse that looks down upon internationals, even though the goal is to 'sell the idea' of hiring them. What we expect of people influence how we understand their actions and this unarticulated 'something' is

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[45] Monnica T Williams Ph.D. 2011, Colorblind Ideology is a Form of Racism, in Psycology Today
https://www.psychologytoday.com/intl/blog/culturally-speaking/201112/colorblind-ideology-is-form-racism

construing an emphasis on the prejudices, whether it is an assumption of too much pride, or an emphasis on differences rather than similarities.

Finally we see in Peters last quote a naturalisation, legitimation and justification of the problem that according to him does not exist, and this underlines how the racial reality found during this analysis is out of awareness, and emphasises that it must be moved into awareness in order to make changes.

In the next chapter I will use Alex Honneth's theory of recognition in order to make sense of how lack of recognition affects people, and what role this plays in my informants limited sense of belonging to Denmark.

6. The influence of recognition

One thing has become clear doing my interviews, no matter how long people have been in Denmark, the experience of fitting in and the sense of belonging, continues to be a barrier, not only to the labour market but to the society. There are certain things that become rooted in you by growing up in a certain country, and they can be difficult to acquire as an adult. Henryka has been living in Denmark for 12 years, she has a Danish husband and a Danish son, but nonetheless she cannot participate in for example conversations about old Danish movies that 'everybody knows', and she will never have the same feelings about children's songs, as if she had grown up with them

> Henryka: I think there's always something, when they talk about stuff that happened before I came to Denmark, there is kind of a big gap, I don't know what they are talking about … one can never feel 100% comfortable, I don't think that you can, and I think you should stop expecting it. It is like, for me, now where I have my son, it doesn't matter how many times I can hear a song, itsy-bitsy spider, I had no knowledge about it, it is not the one that I grew up with.

Things like these affect the sense of belonging, but other things do as well. In this chapter I will investigate how lack of recognition can result in a limited sense of belonging, as well as what other consequences lack of recognition can have for the individual, and thereby also for the society. I will do so by applying Honneth's three concepts of recognition, but also by shortly putting forward the idea that lack of recognition can result in the experience of exploitation.

As Anna Bona, who published her PhD "Honneth and Everyday Intercultural (Mis)Recognition – Work, Marginalisation and Integration" in 2018, states: "*Some deep breaths are required when wading into the rich and complex world of recognition*" (Bona, 2018: 13). Due to the nature of this chapter, I choose not to unfold the rise of recognition through Hegel, or the development through the post-Hegelian era (Ibid.: 28-30), but choose to focus on Axel Honnet's understanding of recognition.

Honneth has built the theory of recognition upon the core premise that "*positive acknowledge-*

ment between subjects, is essential for the development of positive self-relations and therefore for self-realisation and autonomy" (Bona, 2018: 13). In this lies, that positive self-relations are necessary for the individual to be able to participate in- and contribute to society (Ibid.). Honneth works with three different parts of self-relations, being respectively self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem, which each is developed through different types of recognitions (Honneth, 1995: 129; Bona, 2018: 13). Self-confidence is developed through love recognition, self-respect through the recognition of rights and self-esteem through the recognition of competences and abilities (Ibid.).

During my analysis of the internationals, I have found that they are having trouble feeling that they fit in, that they belong in Denmark, even those who have been in Denmark for many years. I have found what we can call an existential barrier, where certain experiences, as well as lack of other experiences, form existential considerations concerning security, meaning with life, and how long a struggle is worth to continue. I choose to use recognition theory in the frame of Social Practice, since recognition is expressed and received and made sense of in practice and the experience of recognition, or lack of recognition, takes part in forming a person's position in society and thereby also her sense of belonging. A person needs to experience responsibilities and respect, as well as general acceptance from both people and state in order to feel recognised. *"A lack of respect and esteem, "though less aggressive than an outright insult, can take an equally wounding form. No insult is offered another person, but neither is recognition extended; he or she is not seen—as a full human being whose presence matters"* (Sennett in Bone, 2018: 32)

In the following subchapters, I seek to explore the existential barriers through Honneth's three concepts of recognition in order to find out how this influences the individual, and whether it can be understood as a barrier to the labour market, or to general inclusion in Denmark.

6.1 Self-esteem through recognition of competences and contributions

"***Self-esteem*** *concerns the sense of self developed through the* ***recognition of talents, achievements and contributions*** *in the social or cultural sphere (social esteem)*" (Bona, 2018: 14). One's self-esteem is thereby developed through experiences of social esteem, which is

developed when a person's competences and contributions are *"valued by others as significant for shared practice, in other words, [... when] one's presence in society matters"* (Bona, 2018: 40). To be recognised for one's abilities and to be able to contribute is, according to Honneth, even more important for the relation-to-self than love- and rights recognition (Honneth, 1995: 121). There are particular cultural understandings in societies, these are defining a society's understanding of value and thereby what features are used to measure people's 'social worth' (Ibid.: 122). If success and self-sufficiency are the primary values, as it can be seen in many modern societies, a job seems necessary in order to "*be in a position to contribute to the realization of societal goals*" and thereby to achieve the respect and esteem which follows having 'social worth' (Honneth, 1995: 122; Bona, 2018: 32). The social esteem recognition can be disrespected through denigrations and insults, and lack of esteem recognition can threaten the individual's feeling of honour and dignity (Honnet, 1995: 129).

This is the type of recognition, which is primarily expressed lacking during the search for employment among the international informants.

"I would like to become a good man in Denmark", that is the goal of Maan. Maan works a lot, 8 hours at his regular job at a furniture company and almost every night working on his dream of opening a coffee shop. I ask him how his family feels about him working so much, and he answers: *"they get mad, they say: 'dad, we never see you'. I say that if you live in Denmark, then you work a lot. It is important"* (Maan). Maan is searching for esteem recognition to be recognised as a 'good man', and in order to be so, he works. Arguably there is a difference between whether a person has come as a refugee, as Maan, or has moved to Denmark voluntarily, but they all need to assess the society's understanding of value and attempt to build up social esteem through this. Maan has chosen to disregard his position, experience and former field of work, and has chosen to start from zero in a new field. This is the reality for several of my international informants, and it can be seen as a result of lack of esteem recognition.

As mentioned before, the most recurring reason for unemployment among my international informants is, according to themselves, that they were not hired, even though they applied for jobs they were qualified for. They were thereby not receiving any recognition of their talents and competences.

Henryka: I send some applications and wrote to different companies, but they never answered, and it was always the case that there were many applicants and I was never taken into consideration, so I haven't even managed to be called into a real job interview with my education, my real education. And I remember that made me really depressed, cause it was really difficult to accept that it never happened.

Beth: I got a good handle on the English language, I guess so, you know, so I can probably be of some use, plus I have all these skills that I learned in studying marketing, … so it like, you know, so I thought now I have these skills, I have this backing that people can look and they can see there is a box, check, Danish education, check many years in Denmark, check, I'm filling those boxes is what I thought, and no, that didn't work out either… And then again that is something that pisses me of, just from my own experience, plenty of experience, not able to use it

It is important to be able to use one's competences, because if there is no possibility to use them, there is no possibility to be recognised for them. It is also a factor to be recognised for one's abilities even though they are not at use, and it is therefore a lack of recognition and an expression of cultural racism when the existence of the competences is not acknowledged. Business consultant Martin questions whether some people tell the truth when presenting their experience and educational background, and Beth has experienced exactly this.

Beth: [At the interviews] they would be: well do you know this? and do you know that? And it's like, well yeah it's what I've spend many years doing, and even after, when I graduated and was going out on interviews and stuff, even then it was like: do you know a, b, c, and I was like yes I spend many years getting it stuffed into my head you know, plus I have all this other experience that backed it up … all of my experience backed up my education, but then I would get questions, and it would be like: yes, do you think that I am not telling the truth on my resume, and that was actually what I felt a lot, that they would look at my CV and maybe think that it wasn't wholly accurate

In this case it is not only her talents and achievements that are being questioned, but her honour and dignity is being threatened through a denigration of her credibility and trustworthiness (see Figure 2 in Honneth, 1995: 129).

The lack of esteem recognition has at several points affected the wellbeing of the international informants to a degree where they started questioning what to do with themselves:

> Henryka: You actually become depressed by it, because you think: 'okay, now there have passed this much time, and I haven't used my education? What am I gonna do? Which way should I go? … it is a vicious cycle … you can just keep sending applications, and nothing happens, it is not nice, it is not good for one's mental health, it is not good for one's self-esteem, it hits you hard. I think that was when I really was hit by the fact that I couldn't find anything, and what am I then supposed to do with my life?

> Shaima: There are some things that you experience in your daily life which has great impact on your personality, and when you personality is broken then you don't present yourself in a good way for your work, workplace and work interviews.

> Beth: You know after two years I was pretty much done, I was like you know I can't do it, it's not worth it anymore to just keep trying and hitting the same wall over and over, I had a stack of CVs that was easily that high, if not higher, and it was tiring and it was depressing

Without being able to use ones abilities and be recognised as a valuable member of society, my informants lose their believe in a positive future, as well as their enthusiasm to keep trying. Though they all ended up with jobs that they enjoy, the times where they lacked the possibilities to contribute to society, and thereby lacked the acknowledgement of others and a position where they mattered in society, seem to have left lasting imprints on them.

While a lack of esteem recognition has a negative influence the opposite is also true. For example, a little recognition of abilities can lead to a little more responsibility at the workplace, which made Jane feel that her work had value.

Jane: As soon as you get a little more responsibility in the work place, then it's just, well, then you get a little more respect among the regular employees, and you feel a bit more proud of your job, no matter what you do. It wasn't that I was ashamed of my job at all, but it just felt like a shitty job, doing the same day after day … so it wasn't something that made me proud, but as soon as I got some responsibilities, it felt like: yes, it actually felt like I had value, and not just an assembly line employee. It can take a long time to gain respect at the work place here … you have to really earn their respect, and it takes a long time, but when you have it then you have it … you have to be patient and earn respect, and feel that you are valuable.

Recognition of talents, achievements and contributions develops self-esteem, and when a person continuously is not hired her competences are not recognised. This can affect not only the wellbeing of people, but also their mental health, and their sense of being valued and respected. Further it is necessary to be able to contribute to one's society, in order to feel part of it.

In the next subchapter I will concentrate on the recognition of rights, and how this affects the international informants.

6.2 Self-respect through the recognition of rights

"Self-respect is maintained through the recognition of a subject's rights in the civic or legal sphere (cognitive respect)" (Bona, 2018: 13-14). An individual can only understand herself as having rights if she recognised that other people in the community also have rights (Honneth, 1995: 108). Founded in the Universal Human Rights, all people are born free and equal (UN 1948[46]) and individual rights must therefore in principle be ascribed to everyone (Honneth, 1995: 110). This acts as the foundation of the development of self-respect, since self-respect according to Honneth is developed through legal rights when a person *"is able to respect oneself because one deserved the respect of everyone else"* (Ibid.: 118-119*).*

> *"In the experience of legal recognition, one is able to view oneself as a person who shares with all other members of one's community the qualities that make*

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[46] Universal Declaration of Human Rights: www.ohchr.org

participation in discursive will-formation possible. And we can term the possibility of relating positively to oneself in this manner 'self-respect'" (Honneth, 1995: 120)

It is necessary with a minimum of self-respect, in order to feel *"worthy of the love and esteem of others"* (Ibid.). The individual's rights can be disrespected through denial of rights, discrimination and/or exclusion, which can result in a loss of social integrity or losses of autonomy and equality (Bona, 2018: 36, figure adapted from Honneth, 1995: 129). Arguably, the experience of disrespect can lead to similar consequences.

I have found two main areas where the international informants experience challenges in the legal sphere, firstly in relation to the tightening of laws related to immigration and secondly related to obtaining citizenship.

The tightening

The tightening of the laws related to immigrants affect the informants in different ways. Firstly through the signal value:

> Jane: Like they are making those tightening's, and Støjberg makes that cake … and it is kind of a signal they send out, saying that 'it is okay that we are doing this, and it is super that we try to remove these people from our country', or something, 'protect our country from foreigners', and I've felt sometimes that I've been thrown into this 'foreigner-stuff'.
>
> Beth: You watch it and listen to it and you think okay are people going to start looking at you [as] 'another', are they going to start yelling about 'why are you taking my job'

The signal of the laws, as well as the rhetoric used in relation to these, affect their sense of belonging in Denmark. Jane calls it 'foreigner-stuff' and Beth raises the question of becoming 'the other', this might indicate that they are losing the feeling of having equal rights and being equal to the general population in the legal system, or are fearing to do so.

It is not only the signal value of the laws that affect the informants' experiences of recognition of rights, it is also the actual laws and how they affect the individuals place in the legal system.

Beth:	Rules changes for example, I'm here on a family reunification [visa], since my husband is Danish, I am American bla bla bla, so for me the rules keep changing, and for anyone in my situation, so far, knock on fake wood, we've dealt with every single one, I keep hitting those goals.
Jane:	I work 37 hours a week, that is fine, I meet the demands of the law. Maybe if I one day get citizenship, I can work 34 hours.

Beth and Jane have to live up to certain rules in order to keep being allowed in Denmark, though different rules apply depending on how and why they have come. This also means that they do not have a free choice, for example if wanting to work less, since they are limited by the group-specific rights. In Denmark anno 2018 the rights are getting narrower, and the laws are getting tighter, and as long as you do not have a citizenship it is impossible to be sure that the next law does not apply to you. This creates a fear of a future because as Beth says: *"rules change"*.

Jane:	So, when I see these tightening's I take it personal, cause I think that they count for me as well. Like now not long ago they talked about the thing with unemployment, have you heard that? … It is a planned change, tightening, so that if you have been unemployed for more than 4 months, then you cannot apply for Danish citizenship until five years from the date you were hired … and I'm thrown into this if it becomes a reality, because I had those 7 month where I was unemployed, but from November next year, I've been hired for 5 years, so, … I don't know if it applies to me, or if they say that it applies to everybody who apply now, but it means that I have to apply again in November 2019, and then wait 19 months for a reply, or longer maybe at that point, and I have really panicked about this.

It is debatable whether there have to be differences between the rights of people with citizenships and people without citizenship, but seen through the concept of recognition of rights this difference in the approach to rights can result in discrimination or exclusion, which can influence peoples' self-respect as well as their social integrity.

The citizenship

The second main place where the legal recognition is being challenged is in relation to gaining Danish- or dual citizenship. I have already looked at how political changes influence the possibility of citizenship in chapter 4.1, but the continuous tightening of the rules regarding citizenship can also be an expression of a lowering in the recognition of rights. I highlighted the example of Henryka and her cancellation of the citizenship, as well as Jane's consideration about the importance of citizenship as part of security and belonging, and in both cases they stand out from the general other and do not receive the same rights as other citizens. When Henryka had her citizenship rejected she experienced it as a denial of rights and thereby as an expression of the Danish state seeing her as unequal to Danes. When Jane do not wish to have children in Denmark, due to a feeling of insecurity, the many laws and the long processing time are limiting her possibility of living out the human right of procreation.

> Henryka: I feel that it is very unfair. It helps a little that people sitting shaking their heads and laughing when I told them about it, I can also laugh a little now, one year later, but I still have this bitterness inside me.

> Jane: Now we just had to convince Støjberg to let me become a member, and then I have to shake her hand, maybe... yes maybe I have broken my hand that day, then I don't get it [the citizenship] anyways, we will see what happens.

Having a citizenship underlines the recognition of one's rights and increases one's self-respect, since it allows you to see yourself as just as important or significant as any other citizen. It is thereby possible to avoid situations of experienced disrespect, as when Shaima's friends' neighbour lets out an angry dog into the garden every time their children are out playing (see chapter 4).

> Shaima: Because we think it's their country, it's their right, and we are not allowed to play outside

Arguably, if these people were sure of their rights they would have asked their neighbours to keep their dog inside when the children were playing outside, or made another kind of agreement with the neighbours, but as long as they do not feel they have the rights to do so,

they do not have the self-respect to act.

Love recognition

The next concept of recognition is love recognition. Honneth theorises that *"**Self-confidence** is understood to develop through **love recognition** in the intimate sphere of family and friendship (need affirmation, practical care and emotional support)"* (Bona, 2018: 13). Due to the nature of the interviews and the focus upon barriers to employment, we did not talk lots about their intimate sphere. Yet I found that a dominating lack of recognition of abilities and competences can be evoked partially by love recognition.

> Henryka: So I thought it was bad, and at one point I considered to leave Denmark, because it didn't make sense to be here, but at that point, where I almost thought that I was going on leave the country, I met my husband, and that was something I did not expect to happen.

Arguably a similar thing can happen when finding a good job, a lot of recognition in one of the three types is better than none, and can assumingly facilitate the other kinds. Regarding love recognition, all the internationals had families in Denmark, which assumingly ensured some amounts of love recognition and self-confidence, but did also have family and friends in their countries of origin, and some were missing them more than others.

In the first two sub chapters I have examined how the different forms of recognition are at play among the informants and how lacks of recognition affects them. In the next part I will move into one of the structures of the employment system, the internships, as an example of what can follow the lack of recognition.

6.3 The line between help and exploitation – lack of recognition

As part of the analysis of recognition I will shortly move into the discussion of internships and the line between helping people and exploiting them, as it is part of the lack of recognition experienced by the internationals.

Some people who are enrolled in the employment system in the municipality of Aarhus feel used (Maan; Shaima). They experience that their competences, their education and their

knowledge is not being recognised, but that they instead are being put to work as cheap labour in shorter or longer internships, without gaining anything from them.

Maan Internships is a bad idea … Internships does not work … My friend, he is my neighbour, he worked one year in an internship in a company in Silkeborg. After this the municipality says it's important that he gets a job, so they made a contract with wage subsidy (løntilskud). He worked there for 6 months with wage subsidy, after which he says 'if I work with wage subsidy I don't want to work, if I work in a job I will work', the company says 'you are not good at language'. He worked there for 18 months in internship and with wage subsidy, but when he wanted a job they said no, you are not good at the language. I know many with the same problem. Wage subsidy is not good either. Because all companies and all factories they like wage subsidies and internships, because it's free [for them], and that is good [for them]

Shaima Contact persons at the municipality they have a pressure that they should find internships, … so it's very easy for contact persons to find internships regardless of the person's education and previous experience. They find internships, which are not relevant for the person's education or previous experience, so it is very hard to find a job on your own, with your actual educational background. Because in my husband's case, he worked as a delivery truck driver and with packing [at a warehouse], and these things are just internships, where the contact person just have fill out their papers, they don't care what kind of internship, they don't care if this internship is helpful to find a job for him, and it's easy to find job in Føtex or all these big areas that hire refugees, but didn't pay them

That the internships have no value is being contradicted from the business consultants, who explain that the first few internships after coming to Denmark are meant to familiarise the people who are new in Denmark to the Danish working culture, and even more important, to the Danish language. Where the internationals experience it as an expression of lack of recognition and as a disregard of their competences, the business consultants understands it as a form for education in the 'Danish society'. The problem arises in several forms, both when the experiences and competences of the individual are not recognised and put into use in the

internships, but also when the a person moves from internship to internship without getting an ordinary job.

Guy Standing has bought attention to the concept of the precariat. The precariat is a group of people in society, who do not have labour-related security. According to Standing, labour-related security is defined by the following seven factors: "*the opportunity to find employment, remain employed (at all), remain employed in a job or jobs along a career trajectory, labor in safe conditions, gain and use skills, be assured of consistent adequate income, and have a collective voice in the workplace and labor market*" (Standing in Sherman, 2016: 325). According to this definition, all five internationals have at one point of their life in Denmark been part of the precariat, either during their time as unemployed, or during their time in the municipality's system of employment. Within Standings theory of the precariat he acknowledge the existential crisis, the lack of political recognition (recognition of rights) and the lack of attention that this group experience and argues that "*the precariat's pain and frustrations make it vulnerable to (...) a politics of inferno: that is, to scapegoating, racism, fascism*" (Standing in Sherman, 2016, 326). Using immigrants as scapegoats is arguably common in the Danish society, both among the media, the politicians and the general rhetoric. Henryka express it as follows:

> Henryka   But if it ends up as in the media, and they say that polish people steal jobs, or take jobs from Danes, or that all crime is committed by eastern Europeans from Poland for example, well then it gets to me, even though it isn't me.

The scapegoating, racialization and political exclusion have been seen throughout the analysis of this study along with the unsecure positions on the labour market. This is yet an example of the unequal power relations reinforced by the racial relations. This is arguably where the internships of in particular refugees differ from the internships of students.

Many students in Denmark have internships during their education. The internship is beneficial because *"you learn about the culture and values of a company … basically you learn*

to speak the language" (University of Copenhagen, 2017[47]) even though there is no immediate job possibility, since the student has not finished her studies. Similarly argues business consultant Peter that the internships for internationals have many other benefactors than getting people into a job, it is also "*to get to know the labour market, the written and unwritten rules of the Danish companies, the written and unwritten rules which you have no idea what are, but have to learn. And first and foremost, to learn the language*" (Peter). This is arguably true, but due to the unequal power relation and the many experiences of exploitation, the discussion of when it is help and when it is exploitation is important. I will recommend a thorough investigation of the internship system for internationals, with specific focus upon how it assumingly unintentionally reproduces racialized and discriminatory practice.

Sub conclusion of chapter 6

No matter how long my informants have been in Denmark, the still do not feel like they belong. It is not directly expressed, because they have families and friends, but they do not completely feel recognised. To be recognised for ones abilities and contributions is very important for the individual and her self-esteem. The informants experience a lack of recognition when they continuously are not chosen nor considered for jobs they are qualified for, or when their competences and experiences are questioned. They have had difficulties with keeping the enthusiasm up and believing in a positive future during the times when they have been unable to use their resources, and it has even affected their wellbeing and in some cases produced a sense of depression. However a little recognition of competences goes a long way and small expressions of trust in abilities can enhance the experience of being valuable.

The informants also experiences challenges related to the recognition of rights and the self-respect that follows. As rights are not only related to oneself, but also to others in similar situations, the signal value and rhetoric surrounding laws as well as the actual changes in laws therefore affect my informants, even though they are not specifically directed at them. They experience that it is difficult to feel recognised as citizen, since there is an inescapable fear of the future where you never know when the changes in the law will affect you. The difference in rights when having or not having citizenship represents the difference between

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[47] University of Copenhagen, The student magasine Humanist, 01.09.2017
https://humanist.hum.ku.dk/artikler/2017/3/voxpop/

security and lack of security, and is by Jane and Henryka experienced as having or not being recognised as a citizen in the country they have made their own. The lack of recognition of rights can therefore result in both discrimination and exclusion, and can affect both people's self-respect and their social integrity.

The lack of recognition, of both rights and competences reinforces the unequal power relations and opens for the possibility of exploiting people for example in internships as unskilled labour, disregarding their abilities and thereby lowering their self-esteem and self-respect.

7. Conclusion

During this study I have found that this unarticulated 'something' that appeared in the data can be understood as constituted by all those more or less hidden factors that influences the racial relations between Danes and 'others'. It can thereby be understood as the essence of the racial relations as they are experienced in Aarhus, among people of similar characteristics, anno 2018. The racial relation is difficult to pinpoint, to acknowledge and to express, but it exists as part of experience, both for the internationals who experience it through, among others, cultural racism, everyday racism, lack of recognition and the experience of 'distance', and for the Danes, who unintentional reproduce the racial relation and strengthens the 'in-group's' social identity through banal nationalism and by creating 'monsters' as a figment of the social imagination, who are incompatible with the society.

I have found that both the internationals and the business consultants naturalise the racial relation between them, but that it primarily is the Danes and the structures of the Danish society that are responsible for the continuous reproduction of the more or less unintentional great extend of the racial relation and racial experiences. This manifest itself through racialized and discriminatory practices, for example expressed through structural discrimination, preferential discrimination and the lack of recognition of competences. The discourse on immigrants contains legitimations and justifications of those of the discriminatory practices that are acknowledged, in order to naturalise the 'distance' towards others. But the discrimination and racism is subtle, easy to feel but difficult to pinpoint, it is therefore difficult to acknowledge in everyday life. However, in this study I have shown the existence of this underlying 'something', how it is experienced and to some extend how it is being reproduced.

The unarticulated 'something', the racial relations, the subtle discrimination and the political attitude towards internationals result in a limited sense of belonging among the informants. This is related to the limited recognition they experience in Denmark. When the individual is not recognised for her competences and abilities, she loses self-esteem and will not be able to continue being enthusiastic and do her best. The lack of recognition, of both rights and competences, reinforces the unequal power relations between majority and minority.

All these findings constitute the unarticulated barrier, which limits their possibilities to become part of the Danish labour market and the Danish society. In order to change this, the emphasis must no longer be primarily on 'the others' and how 'they' must accustom to the Danish ways, but instead on the Danish system and the Danes' reproduction of the many aspects constituting the profound force of the racial relation.

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